

578. L. 13.

Canning's MAGAZINE;

OR, A

R E V I E W

OF THE

Whole Evidence that has been hitherto
offered for or against *Elizabeth Canning*,
and *Mary Squires*. N

INCLUDING

Some MEMORABLE OCCURRENCES,
Never before imparted to the Publick.

*Give every Man thine Ear, but few thy Voice;
Take each Man's Censure, but reserve thy Judgment.*
Shakespear's HAMLET.



L O N D O N :

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P R E F A C E.



H A T the Plague! Methinks I hear a grave old Gentleman, under the Clock at *B—t—n's*, say; Still *more of Canning!* Surely these Fellows, who have nothing else to live by but *Scribbling*, think they have a Right to impose a Tax upon the Publick as often as they want Money: But then they should give us something new for it; this Subject is worn quite Threadbare; I'll none of it.— On *which Side* is it wrote, cries another? If it is not in Favour of the poor injured *Girl*, I am sure it can be good for nothing: Doctor *Cox* is unanswerable.—*Pshaw!* answers a Third, a ridiculous, idle, absurd, *Story!* Nothing offered in its Defence can be worth reading. Thus may this unfortunate Pamphlet be condemned to the most ignominious Purposes, without any Enquiry into its Merits: Nevertheless, the Author, (as all Authors have a competent Share of Vanity) flatters himself, that his Views in this Publication, when duly explained, will not appear to *all* entirely unworthy of Regard.

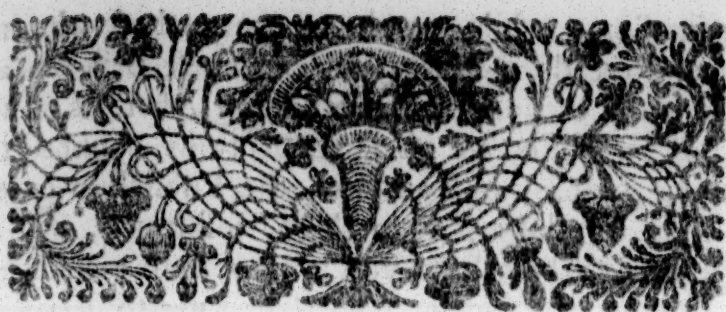
The laudable Fashion of *Magazining* has rescued the Memory of many a Writer from Oblivion, whose Labours might not otherwise have survived even the Space of Time that was employed in printing them; therefore his Brethren of the Quill ought not to entertain any Resentment against him, for his honest Endeavours to continue their Remembrance somewhat longer.

There is hardly any Rank, Age, or Sex, but are more or less prone to Curiosity, though it may not have equally suited every one's Convenience to gratify this prevailing Inclination. So extraordinary a Transaction has given Birth to very many extraordinary Productions; and among the Number of Readers, there may be some, who, though
not

not less *inquisitive*, may have been too *indolent* to travel thro' all the curious Pieces the Publick have been furnished with upon this Topick; while there may be others, to whom the Perusal of every Thing that has been wrote upon it would have afforded infinite Pleasure, which Satisfaction they may have been deprived of, by Reason of the accumulated Expence. The Fatigue of the one, and the Pocket of the other, are by this Method relieved, consequently the Obstacles to their mutual Desires are in a great Measure removed.

To those who have not been so unhappy as to have laboured under either of these Embarrassments, the Abstracts of the Writings herein comprehended, may indeed be unnecessary; yet even to those they may not be altogether useless, seeing the Trouble of turning over a Multitude of Leaves will be hereby saved: And if Novelty carries with it any Recommendation to these Gentlemen, they may be assured of meeting with some interesting Circumstances, not generally known, nor ever before publicly communicated.

It has been endeavoured with the utmost Care to do strict Justice to the respective Authors; neither to misconstrue or misrepresent their proper Meanings, nor to add to, or diminish from the full Weight of their Arguments. And whereas in the Progress of this Affair, *Paragraphs* and *Advertisements* of a very uncommon Tendency appeared daily in one or other of the News-Papers; that this Performance might be rendered a compleat *Magazine*, the most remarkable of them are here collected, and for the Convenience of the Reader, are, with some other Particulars, thrown into an Appendix: To which there were likewise two other Inducements, as well because they are referred to as Evidence the Infertors of them must admit to be authentic; as for the Sake of transmitting to Posterity what perhaps will otherwise be thought incredible.— Instead of the Convenience of the Readers, it is possible, some ill-natured Caviller may object, the Author rather intended his own particular Benefit, that by thus swelling the Bulk of his Work, he might also enhance its Price: But a candid Observer will immediately perceive, that there is Matter enough, exclusive of both *Extracts* and *Appendix*, which, under proper *Typographical* Management, might easily have been span out to a modern *Twelve-penny worth*.— It is hoped these Apologies may be *excusable*; to offer more might be *impertinent*.



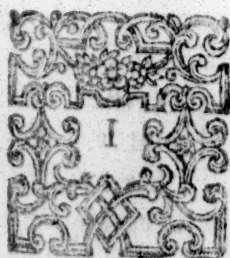
TO

W—— M——, Esq;

IN

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

S I R,



T will perhaps surprize you to be informed, that you have enjoined me almost an Impossibility, in desiring an Ecclaircissement of *Canning's* mysterious Affair; for a Mystery it hitherto remains. Ridiculous as you are pleased to term it, it has been attended with very serious Consequences: Friends and Neighbours, who, heretofore, were happy in each other's Acquaintance, are become declared Enemies: The Advocates for the Girl esteem it less criminal to disbelieve the *Creed*, than to doubt the least Tittle of her Story; they anathematize all such as Hereticks of the most dangerous

gerous Sort ; while, on the contrary, those who are not of so ready a Faith, consider these Believers as obstinately credulous, or designing Abettors of an Imposture : Nor are these Dissentions confined to private Persons, or Families ; the Publick in general seem to take a Part in them, insomuch, that it is possible, (though to you it may seem incredible) our future Election for Representatives to serve in Parliament, may in some Measure be influenced by the Attachment, or Opposition, the Candidates may have shewn to this newly imposed Article of Belief. The Appellations *Whig* and *Tory*, *Court* and *Country*, or (as about you it is called) *Old* and *New Interest*, have entirely subsided, and seem with us all to be merged into *Canningite* and *Egyptian*. But in your long Converse with Mankind it must often have occurred to you, that few endeavour so much to search after Truth as to defend what they believe : Men who can blindly engage themselves to any particular Opinion, will as stubbornly maintain it ; Passion usurps the Place of Judgment, and Reflection is drowned by Prejudice : Pride will not suffer some to acknowledge themselves capable of being mistaken, while Indolence induces others to repose an implicit Confidence in Reports, without enquiring whether they have any rational Foundation ; they acquiesce in, and propagate the Tale merely upon the Reputation of the Relator. Errors thus rivetted on weak Minds, resist Demonstration as well as Argument ; stedfastly resolved against Conviction, they not only reject the Means that offer for that Purpose, but are even angry at the Attempt, as a Reproach upon their Understanding ; and if, in Opposition to Truth, Interest should be thrown into the Scale with Falsehood, no Wonder if the latter should for some Time preponderate. The Mob, who seldom act but as they are taught, are easily animated to become the Tools of Re-

sentment,

sentiment, or Instruments of Abuse, in any Affair that can be made to square with their Sentiments, or Inclinations; but be it remembered, that Infalibility is not an Attribute of Human Nature; the Best and Wisest may err, and have been deceived; nay, the former from their native Goodness of Heart, are most liable to Imposition: Strangers to Fraud with Difficulty entertain a Jealousy of it in others, and a well-painted Scene of distressed Innocence cannot fail having its proper Weight with a compassionate Disposition. Nevertheless, it is well known, that the worthiest Cause may be more injured than assisted by an indiscreet Zeal, and that intemperate Heats rather give Room for Suspicion, than furnish Means for Conviction.

These Reflections (though equally applicable to both) are not intended to impeach either the Credit or Conduct of any one particular Party; the former must depend entirely upon the Strength and Reputation of the Evidence that has been, or may hereafter be offered in Support of their respective Pretensions. They are now mutually accused, and mutual Accusers; Witnesses are provided (as it is said) by Hundreds, to defend, and oppose the same Fact, and if they come in, (to use a *New-market* Phrase) with the same Speed they set off, *England* may have an Opportunity for the first, and it is to be hoped for the last Time, of surpassing all *Europe* in a plentiful Crop of Perjuries.

But that your Curiosity may not be famished with waiting for the Issue of a legal Determination, especially as so extraordinary a Subject may require extraordinary Time, I shall submit to your Opinion such Traditions as the Publick have received (with some occasional Observations) as well oral as written; for you must naturally conclude, so spacious a Field cannot but have afforded a *plentiful* Harvest to the modern Class of Essay Writers.

Your Intelligence ends with the Conviction of *Mary Squires*; this Event was then thought conclusive: The *Canningites* triumphed, *10 Pæans* were sung at the Corner of every Street, in Praise of the Girl, for the noble Defence she had made in Behalf of her assaulted Chastity; the old Woman's *Dying Speech* was prepared, and nothing now wanting but her Execution to render the Scene compleat: But notwithstanding the Pleasure this Decision gave to some, there were others, (perhaps for Want of an equal Degree of Comprehension) who still entertained Doubts; the confessed Improbability of the whole Story, and the artless Testimony of the three Countrymen, who appeared to support the *alibi* Defence, set up by the Gypsy, made some Impression on more *milky* Hearts: Nor indeed did the Court appear perfectly satisfied, insomuch, that when it was moved by one of the Counsel employed on the Part of the Prosecution, that the old Woman's Witnesses should stand committed for Perjury, it was not only refused, but an assistant Counsel on the same Side publicly declared his Disagreement to the Motion; for that *it was not clear to him that they merited any such Imputation*, to which a Gentleman of distinguished Character, and equal Discernment, replied, *No more it is to me.*

These were thought sufficient Motives to a further Enquiry, and Letters were accordingly dispatched into *Dorsetshire*, the Replies to which fully answered the Intention of the Enquirers; they brought the strongest Proofs that the unhappy Convict was actually at *Abbotsbury* at the Time she was supposed to have committed this atrocious Crime, as well as that she had continued there several Days; and *Virtue Hall* had now retracted the Whole of her former Evidence. These Facts furnished the *Inspector* (*Friday, March 9, 1753*) with a Subject for the

the Day, whereby they became more generally promulgated; whence arose a Desertion of some Friends, a Wavering in others, and, what was of more *fatal Consequence*, a *Diminution of Subscriptions*: Somewhat was necessary to be done, in Order to revive the declining Credit of the *presumed Innocent*, and who could be so proper to undertake this arduous Task, as their experienced Friend, who had already so faithfully served them, in his double Capacity of *Advocate and Magistrate*, HENRY FIELDING, Esq; But would (you will perhaps ask) the worshipful Author of those illustrious Histories, *Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*, and the more celebrated *Amelia*, condescend to take up his Pen in Defence of a poor silly Girl? Yes, he did; but from no other Principle, as he himself declares *, *than that he was roused thereto by something within to the Protection of injured Innocence*, though the ill-natured Part of the World have said, (but what will not Slander say?) that from some Insinuations that had been thrown out relative to the Deposition of *Virtue Hall*, as not having been obtained quite fairly, his own Conduct might stand in need of an Apology.

The following Abstract of this weighty Performance will enable you, in some Measure, to judge whether its Author deserves the Applause he so sanguinely hopes for; *an Applause much more valuable than that of the whole World.* (*ibid.*)

This Work is entitled, *A clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning*, consisting of Sixty-two Pages, in *Octavo*. I shall omit the *Introduction* and Narrative, which take up near eleven of them, and shall begin with the Objections, which the Author very candidly states, as repugnant to the Belief of the Narrative; a Narrative justly said to resemble rather a wild Dream, than a real Fact.

* *Clear State of the Case*, p. 6.

The first is this: " It doth not well appear with what Motive these Men carried this Girl such a Length of Way. *Secondly*, That they should be able to do it without being met, opposed, or examined by any Persons in the much frequented Roads near this Town. *Thirdly*, The Gypsy Woman doth not seem to have had any sufficient Motive to her Proceedings; for that her Behaviour was inconsistent with any Design to make the Girl a Prostitute, or a Gypsy, or even to murder her. *Fourthly*, That *Elizabeth Canning* should have survived this Usage, and all the Terrors it must have occasioned, and should have been kept alive with no other Sustenance than what she declared she had. *Fifthly*, That she should so well have husbanded her small Pittance, as to retain some of it till within two Days of her Escape. *Sixthly*, That she should undergo all this Hardship and Fasting without attempting sooner to make her Escape, or without perceiving the Possibility of making it in the Manner she at last says she did effect it. *Lastly*, That at the same Time, when she dates this Escape, she should have Strength sufficient left, not only to break her Prison, but to walk eleven or twelve Miles to her own Home, (*p. 11.*)" Certain it is, continues this Author, that the Facts seem at first to amount to the very highest Degree of Improbability; but in his Opinion, they do not amount to an Impossibility. The first and third Objection, he thinks, no great Strés can be laid on, seeing History, as well as Experience, affords many Instances of wanton Cruelty, and Inhumanity, for which no adequate Motive can be assigned; and to Wretches like these, "very little removed, either in their Sentations, or Understandings, from wild Beasts, here may possibly appear a very sufficient Motive to all that they did; such might be the Desire of encreasing the Train of Gypsies, or of Whores

Whores, in the Family of Mother *Wells*. One of these appears to have been the Design of the Gipsy Woman, from the Declaration of *Elizabeth Canning*, who, if she had said nothing more improbable, would certainly have been entitled to our Belief in this, though this Design seems afterwards not to have been pursued. In short, she might very possibly have left the Alternative, with some Indifference, to the Girl's Option; if she was starved out of her Virtue, the Family might easily apprehend she would give them Notice; if out of her Life, it would be then Time enough to convey her dead Body to some Ditch, or Dunghill, where when found, it would tell no Tales. (*p. 13, 15.*)

The second Objection he presumes of so little Weight, as hardly to deserve an Answer, and apprehends the Darkness of the Night, with the Indifference of most People to what doth not concern themselves, and the Terror with which honest Persons pass the Roads by Night, sufficient to account for the Want of all Interruption to these Men in their Conveyance of this Girl. (*p. 16.*)

The fourth Objection is left, as to its Probability, to be ascertained by the Physicians; possible he thinks it, and contends for no more (*ibid.*)

The fifth Objection is answered by herself, that the cruel Usage she had met with, so much affected her Mind and Body, that, during the first Days of her Confinement, she eat scarce any Thing, and afterwards had so little Appetite, that she could scarce swallow the hard Morsels allotted to her. (*p. 17.*)

The sixth Objection is treated as of no Weight; for that we daily endure many Inconveniencies, while we overlook those Ways of extricating ourselves; which, when discovered, appear from the first extremely easy and obvious. (*ibid.*)

Lastly,

Lastly, The Probability of her being able to accomplish her Escape, is likewise left to the Discussion of Physicians; but that it may be not only possibly, but probably accounted for, from the Vigour and Resolution Despair is wont to inspire. (p. 18.)

After having thus endeavoured to solve the Improbabilities attending the Girl's Narrative, our Author proceeds to consider the Evidence that supports it.

First then, he insists, there is one Part *incontestably* true, which is, "That the Girl, after the Absence of a Month, returned on the 29th of *January*, in the dreadful Condition she had described; from whence he infers, that she must have been confined somewhere, and by some Person; that this Confinement was of equal Duration with her Absence; that she was almost starved to Death; that she was confined in a Place whence it was difficult to make her Escape; however, that at length she made it. (p. 19.)

From the supposed Establishment of these Facts, he goes on, opposing Improbability to Improbability: *First*, he asks, "Why did this Girl conceal the Person who had thus cruelly used her? It could not be a Lover; for the barbarous Treatment she had met with forbids such a Belief. (p. 20.)"

Next, "What could be her Motive for laying this heavy Charge on the Innocent? Can it be imagined, that a young Girl could be induced deliberately to commit so heinous a Crime, as the endeavouring to take away the Lives of three Persons from no Motive whatever? Her tender Age, hardly eighteen Years old, and universal good Character, contradict such an Opinion. (p. 21.)"

That she could have no View of getting Money is supposed to appear, in that the Subscription was proposed and advertised long after her Return to her

her Mother — The Weakness of her Understanding is thought sufficient to oppose any Suggestion of her being witty enough to invent such a Story. The Simplicity of her Looks, and the Unembarrassment of her Behaviour before many great Personages, such as Noblemen, Magistrates, and Judges, and her *invariable Steadiness* in delivering her Evidence are brought as farther Proofs of her Innocence. — Her fixing on a Place so far from Home, and where she had never been before, is deemed another Improbability. — The Girl's exact Description of the House, the Hay Loft, the Pitcher, &c. together with an Account of the Prospect that appeared from the Hay Loft are urged as Manifestations of her being actually at this House, as well as that her Stay there must have been of some Continuance to furnish her with these Observations, (p. 22, 26.)

We are now come to the most capital Piece of Evidence of the whole, Evidence that our Author declares, *to have been the principal Foundation of that Credit which he gave to this extraordinary Story*; (p. 26.) and as it is a Matter of so great Consequence it is introduced with a Solemnity equal to its Importance. The whole is minutely and circumstantially related, insomuch, that it employs very near thirty Pages: The Justice and the Counsellor are herein represented, alternately acting in their respective Spheres: An indifferent Reader would perhaps be persuaded, that it had rather the Appearance of Defence of Mr. *Fielding's* Conduct, than a Vindication of the Subject he professes to treat on. Possibly it may be so meant; but as that is no Way correspondent to this Design, permit me to hope an Excuse, if I neglect expatiating on the Sagacity of the Advocate, or the Impartiality of the Magistrate, and confine myself to my original Intention, which is only to place in a clear and

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candid View such Evidence as has been offered both for and against either *Elizabeth Canning* or *Mary Squires*: Studiously avoiding, as I have hitherto endeavoured to do, any Misconstruction, or Misrepresentation of any of the Author's Sentiments.

But to proceed, we are told, that on the 6th of *February*, Mr. *Salt* brought to *Counsellor Fielding*, a Case for his Opinion, endorsed, *the Case of Elizabeth Canning*: The Case and the Fee being received, with much Importunity, he was prevailed on to give it an immediate Perusal, and after many Solicitations likewise consented to examine *Elizabeth Canning*, upon whose Information his Worship issued a *special* Warrant against all who should be found resident in the House of *Susannah Wells*, as *idle and disorderly Persons*, upon this Warrant *Virtue Hall*, and *Judith Natus* were apprehended. When *Virtue Hall*, who had before-hand promised to confess, came before his Worship *she appeared in Tears and all over in a trembling Condition*; upon which, his Worship endeavoured to *sooth and comfort* her, assuring her of his utmost Protection, if she would be a good Girl, and tell the Truth: She promised she would; but desired Time to be given her to recover from her Fright: But in the Course of her Examination, notwithstanding she had been treated “ *with the softest Language and in the kindest Manner*, she was guilty of so many Prevarications and Contradictions, that his Worship told her, he would examine her no longer, but would *commit her* to Prison, and would leave her to stand or fall by the Evidence against her, and, at the same Time, advised Mr. *Salt* to *prosecute her as a Felon*, together with the Gipsy Woman: Upon this, she begged to be once more heard, and said, she would tell the whole Truth, and accounted for her Unwillingness to do it, from her Fears of the Gipsy Woman and *Wells*.” After a few Questions, his Worship recommended

commended to Mr. Salt to go *with her*, and take her *Information in Writing*, which in about two Hours was compleated, read to her, signed, and sworn to. (p. 39.)

This Examination being finished, one *Judith Natus*, the Wife of one *Fortune Natus*, whom his Worship apprehends to belong to the *Gipsies*, being examined upon Oath, declared, that she and her Husband lay in the same Room where *Elizabeth Canning* pretended to have been confined during the whole Time of her supposed Confinement, and that she had never seen, nor heard of any such Person in *Wells's House*. (p. 47.)

There were some Persons rash enough to desire, that this *Judith Natus* should be committed for Perjury; but his Worship knew better; however, believing her in Reality guilty of Perjury, he gave her some necessary Cautions, if she intended to give Evidence at the *Old Bailey*, and discharged her. (p. 48.)

The Agreement in so many particular Circumstances between the Evidence of *Elizabeth Canning*, and *Virtue Hall*, our learned Author considers as an uncontrovertible Proof of the Truth of both Testimonies; it is a Point on which, he says, this, or any other Cause may safely be rested. He insists that *Virtue Hall* had never seen, nor heard the Evidence of *Elizabeth Canning* at the Time of her own Deposition, and that even supposing she had heard it once repeated before a Justice of Peace, it is absurd to believe she should be able to remember the Particulars so exactly. He also takes some Pains to prove that it could not be a Contrivance between the two Girls, which, I believe, will be readily admitted: From hence he draws the following *silligistical Conclusion*.

“ Whenever two Witnesses declare a Fact, and agree in all the Circumstances of it, either the Fact is true, or they have previously concerted the Evidence between themselves.

But in this Case it is impossible that these Girls should have so previously concerted the Evidence.

And therefore, the Fact is true. (p. 54.)

Another Observation made is this, Why were not *Fortune Natus*, and his Wife produced at the Trial of the Gipsy and *Wells*, seeing their Evidence could have been so strong in their Behalf, for which he says, he can assign but *one Reason too obvious to be mentioned.*

The pretty Incident of the minced Pye, is also considered, as an Instance of the *Goodness, Childishness, and Simplicity* of this poor Girl's Character, as well as that it might possibly be instrumental in saving her Life. (p. 55.)

After a few Apologies, we have this remarkable Protestation, “ *I appeal, in the most solemn Manner, to the Almighty for the Truth of what I now assert. I am at this very Time, on this 19th Day of March 1753, as firmly perswaded as I am of any Fact in the World, the Truth of which depends solely on the Evidence of others, that Mary Squires, the Gipsy Woman, is GUILTY of the Robbery, of which she stands convicted; that the alibi Defence is not only a False one, but a Falshood very easy to be practised on all Occasions, where there are Gangs of People as Gipsies, &c. that very foul and unjustifiable Practices have been used in this whole Affair since the Trial; and that Elizabeth Canning is a poor, honest, innocent, simple Girl, and the most unhappy, and the most injured of all human Beings.*” (p. 58.)

The Postscript adds one *strange Circumstance*, said to be before forgot, how happened it that *Elizabeth Canning* should rather charge the Gipsy, when she must have known that Woman could
prove

prove an *Alibi* rather than *Susannah Wells*, who could have had no such Proof—To which his Worship adds, that he had that very Afternoon (*Sunday* the 18th Instant) read over a great Number of Affidavits, corroborating the Evidence of *Canning*, and contradicting the *alibi Defence* of the Gipsy, and that these Affidavits are by unquestionable Witnesses, and sworn before three Justices living near *Enfield Wash.* (p. 61.)

We have now gone through this Performance of *Mr. Fielding's*, nor did it in the least disappoint the warmest Expectations of those who interested themselves in its Success: It *passed to a second Edition* in a few Days: The Wavering were confirmed, Apostates reclaimed, new Proselytes gained, and *Subscriptions* were renewed, all the Parties concerned were satisfied, the Author was applauded, his Employers pleased, and his Bookseller profited.

Nevertheless, irresistible as the foregoing Arguments were then thought, *Dr. Hill* boldly dared to enter the Lists with this redoubtable Writer, and fearless of Censure ventured to employ his Pen, that Pen, that has been so long and so eminently distinguished in the polite and literary World, in Vindication of a poor, abject, despicable old Gipsy. Hazardous Attempt! How far he succeeded you may judge from what follows.

Warm Passions, a quick Conception, and a ready Expression characterize most of the Doctor's Productions. He writes much because it is *necessary* he should, consequently Correctness and Regularity are less studied: This very Pamphlet in a great Measure confirms these Observations; it made its Appearance about ten Days after the Publication of *Mr. Fielding's*, consists of fifty-two Pages, thirteen whereof are chiefly employed on a favourite, and most interesting Subject, HIMSELF; but which as it has no immediate Connection with my Design,
I flatter

I flatter myself with Hopes of being forgiven, if passed over unnoticed: However, that singular Display of what seems to be his ruling Passion, VANITY, ought not to slip unregarded, wherein he informs his Readers, that *he has ordered his Name to be put to this Pamphlet, that he may not be supposed the Writer of those many other Pieces, which Ingenuity, or its Parent Hunger, may hereafter obtrude upon the World**.

The Doctor observes, "that to judge truly of Peoples Actions, we should enquire into the Designs of them; and this is best done by attending to the earliest Notices. (p. 13.)" Therefore, in considering this Story he chuses to begin with a Circumstance said to be "forgot by the Disinterested, and passed over not imprudently by those who espouse the Girl. (p. 15.)" This Circumstance is an Advertisement signifying the Absence of *Elizabeth Canning*, with a Description of her Person and Dress, and a Reward of two Guineas to any one who can give any Account where she is; with the following remarkable Addition.

(P. 14.) *Note, It is supposed she was forcibly taken away by some evil-disposed Persons as she was heard to shriek out in a Hackney Coach in Bishopsgate-Street. If the Coachman remembers any Thing of the Affair, by giving an Account as above, he shall be handsomely rewarded for his Trouble†.* The Doctor seems to consider this Advertisement as the Prelude to some particular Intention; for that neither her Person, or her Dress were sufficient Temptation to induce any Body to such an Act of Violence; nor were such Things common. He asks, who heard her shriek? Or how the Voice of a Servant of no Consideration should be distinguished calling out of a Coach in a strange Part of

* *Story of Elizabeth Canning considered*, p. 10.
Advertiser, January 6.

† *Daily*

the Town? With some other Questions to the same Purpose.

In Answer to Mr. *Fielding*, he insists, "There can be no Cause assigned, why Men should drag her so many Miles, or Women lock her up to perish without the least Advantage, or the least Prospect of Advantage." To this he adds, how came she to proportion so equally her Eating to the Length of her Confinement: "That there appears no Reason why she did not make that Escape the first Night, which she effected the last Day, at four in the Afternoon." It also appears strange to him, "that no one should have been let into the Story in her Return; for she must at that Time in the Afternoon have been met, overtaken, or seen by many hundred Persons. The Singularity of her Figure was enough to have drawn the Attention of some, her Aspect of all: (*p. 20.*)

"Acts of Cruelty, he grants, have been practiced by Ruffians; but never without a Motive, their own Safety is the common Cause; but here Men endangered, and not secured their Safety, by thus doing it; and on the same Principle before we can believe the Woman (who has been condemned) would have run the Hazard of her Confinement, when they knew an Escape so practicable, we must see some Motives for their doing it. (*p. 21.*)

Naked Virtue, without the Assistance of a good Person, he further observes, is of no Value to these Sort of People; nor could it answer any Intent in the old Gipsy to have obtained the Sacrifice, seeing she did not keep the House, nor could it be out of Friendship to Mrs. *Wells*, for they were Strangers. (*p. 22.*)

He also affirms, "that it does not appear, that she was confined any where, otherwise than with her own Consent: That it is not true, that she returned in this dreadful Condition; nor can it be true,

true, that she could have supported Life till she arrived at it, and after that have walked ten Miles immediately, or been carried as far so very soon after it: Neither does it seem to him an improbable Conjecture but that she might have been employed with a Lover. (p. 24.)

The Doctor contends, that the Description she gave of the Room, &c. which should direct our Judgment, ought to be taken from the Account she gave before the sitting Alderman, by whom she was first examined; which is far from speaking in her Favour.

She *then* described it to be a *dark* Room; in which she lay upon the *Boards*; in which there was nothing except a *Grate*, with a Gown in it, and a few Pictures over the Chimney; from which she made her Escape, by *forcing down some Boards*, and out of which she had before discovered the Face of a Coachman through certain *Cracks* in the Side. (p. 25.)

The Room, upon Inspection, is said not in the least to have corresponded with this Description: “Far from being *dark* there were *two Windows* in it, which had Casements capable of being opened at any Time, from whence she might have escaped, *without being at the Trouble of pulling down Boards*: Out of these also she might have seen the Coachman, without being obliged to the Cracks. There were neither Grate, nor Pictures, and as a Proof, the former could not have been there for a long Time, it is observed, the whole Expanse of the Chimney was found overspread with Cobwebs. (p. 26.)

The Omission of some Particulars which were too *conspicuous* to be overlooked, as a Casement put up over the Chimney, and near half a Load of Hay, are also urged against the Credibility of her Account. (p. 27.)

In Regard to her being neither wicked nor witty enough to have devised such a Deceit, the Reply here is, to the former, " God and her own Heart can only tell : " To the latter, " None but a Fool could have invented so bad a Story." (p. 28.)

This Writer proceeds to take into Consideration more of Mr. *Fielding's* Improbabilities : To her fixing upon a Place so far from Home, he answers, *the farther off, the farther from Detection* — To this, that Mrs. *Wells's* House should be particularly hit upon ; *Mrs. Wells's House was an House of evil Fame, and no other such in the Neighbourhood*. — How should she, among a Number of People, fix upon the Gipsy, whom she had particularly described before, as the Person that robbed her ; the Replication to this is called, a very severe and a fatal one, it is, *that she had not particularly described her before*. (p. 29.)

But with all due Deference to the Doctor, I must beg Leave to interrupt the Thread of his Arguments, for the Sake of relating a Circumstance, that, perhaps, some of the few who are acquainted with it, would have been as well pleased not to have remembered : The Insertion of it in this Place is attended with the greater Propriety, as it may in some Measure contribute to a Solution of this Difficulty, relative to the Girl's Election of the old Woman, which may perhaps be better accounted for, by saying, *that the Gipsy had been described to her before*.

This will perhaps appear strange to you, nevertheless it is true ; Mrs. *Canning*, this poor little Girl's Mother, having in vain had Recourse to all natural Means, such as Advertisements, &c. to learn some Tidings of her absent Daughter : Parental Tenderness inspires her at length with a Resolution to try what Information might be obtained from the superior Power of Divination, and accordingly, she

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applies to a Person famous in that Art, vulgarly called a Fortune-teller, living in the *Old Baily*; the Fee being received, (an Expence of three Shillings) and the Case being maturely considered, the Oracle pronounced PRETTY MISS to be in the Keeping of an OLD BLACK WOMAN. What a fortunate Incident! That the Gipsy happened to be at Mother *Wells's* at the Time they went down to apprehend the Perpetrators of this before unheard of Cruelty: Hereby a proper Object was provided for the poor abused young Lady's Determination, (which might otherwise have been attended with some Perplexity) and the Conjuror's Knowledge and Credit established upon an everlasting Foundation.

This may possibly serve to assist the Conjectures some have made in Relation to the Hackney-Coach Part of the Story; for myself, I shall make no farther Application at present, only if any one should doubt the Truth of it, tell them, it was reported by one of the Girl's firmest Friends, by one who, while she was called *plain Betty Canning*, without the Addition of *Miss*, was her Master, Mr. LYON, of *Aldermanbury*.

Now to return to the Doctor, who goes on to treat of the Weight of the Evidence arising from the Congruity of *Elizabeth Canning's* and *Virtue Hall's* Informations: This Agreement, or (as he more properly terms it) this Sameness, (*p. 35.*) he accounts for from the Circumstances under which they were taken: He considers *Virtue Hall* as an innocent and an ignorant Person, "who saw Perjury strong against herself, and that a Prison was the immediate Consequence," (*p. 32.*) "She might suppose that the Oaths which prevailed against her Liberty, might also against her Life; and to save herself from the Effects of Perjury, she submitted to support the Charge it made against others, (*ibid.*)" That nevertheless she refused to confess any

any such Thing throughout six Hours strong Solicitation, and seems at last to have complied merely for the Sake of escaping (what she was threatned with) the being prosecuted as a FELON : (p. 32.) But being once determined, it was necessary she should endeavour to make her Information like that of *Elizabeth Canning*'s, and that she had sufficient Opportunities of knowing what the Girl had sworn, appears by her having heard the Examination of the latter when before Justice *Tythemaker*, as well as her Declaration of the Fact at *Endfield* the same Day, the 1st of *February*; or, if she had not heard it at that Time, she might have read the Story as repeated in the News Paper, for eight Days previous to her second Apprehension, or it must have been related to her by all who came to her, (p. 36.)

He next takes Notice of the Time when she gave this Deposition, " it was not till the 14th of *February*, and then, after *many hard Struggles and bold Denials* she prevailed with herself to put her Mark to an Information, and swore what it contained was true; the Contents of which were the same that had been before sworn to by *Canning*, for which this Reason is assigned, that the same Person drew both, even *the Attorney who was engaged to manage the Prosecution*, (p. 37.)"

Another Observation here made is, that notwithstanding the Agreement in their written Informations, they did not so well coincide in their verbal Evidence; " seeing *Canning* swears that no Body came into the Room all the Time she was there, and *Hall* swears that the Pitcher was put into the Room three Hours after by the Gipsy; and again, *Canning* swears the two Men took her Stays and went out while she was yet below; but *Hall* swears this was done after she was put into the Room, (p. 38.)"

Judith Natus is said to be “ an honest Woman, the Wife of an honest Labourer,” one who could not afford any reasonable Suspicion of her belonging to the Gypsies, and one whose free disinterested Oath deserved more Regard than that of *Virtue Hall*, a Person of a confessed bad Character, and one who had only “ the Alternative of that Information, or a Prison.”

The Reason why this Woman and her Husband were not produced at the Trial, is alledged to be, that, though they were subpoena'd, and gave their Attendance, “ the Mob without Doors had been so exasperated against all who should appear on the Part of the Accused, that they were prevented from coming in, and themselves treated like Criminals, (p. 40.)”

The Means made use of to prejudice not only the Publick, but also the Court, had it been possible, is declared to be by handing printed Papers about as well within Doors as without, calculated to inflame every Body against the supposed Criminals, (p. 41.)

And whereas many ill-natured Insinuations had been spread abroad concerning *Virtue Hall's* Recantation, that it had not been taken fairly and candidly, the Doctor, in order to invalidate such malicious Reports, gives this Account of that Transaction.

That having been informed there were a Number of Affidavits in Town, tending to prove the old Gipsy to have been at *Abbotsbury* at the Time she was supposed to have committed the Robbery of which she stood convicted, he communicated his Suspicions to Mr. *Lediard*, who thereupon sent for *Virtue Hall* from the *Gate-House*, when, after having both talked to her in such a Manner as they thought most likely to induce her to declare the Truth, she, in part, went back from what she had sworn at the Trial, and her Confusion and Tears evidenced she had

had more to confess: She begged for that Night to recollect what she should further say, and promised to speak more openly the next Morning*.

The Doctor, upon this, applied to the Lord Mayor, whom, 'till that Time, he affirms he never saw, to receive her Confession: She was sent for, and she made it; freely and voluntarily made it, in the Presence of Witnesses, whereby she declared, that all she had said on her Examination before Mr. *Fielding*, as well as what she confirmed on the Trial, was the Whole of it false and forged; that it was the Offspring of her Terrors, (*Story considered*, p. 18, 19.) and she testified the Satisfaction she felt in having eased her Heart of an insupportable Burthen and Distress, (p. 35.)

For these Reasons, and the *Abbotsbury* Testimonies, the Doctor ventures to pronounce *Squires* guiltless, and that *Canning* was not confined in the House of *Wells*, (p. 46.) Whether his Judgment is right or wrong, you will be better enabled to determine from the remaining Evidence.

It may be remembered that Mr. *Fielding* has left two Points to a medical Discussion, viz. the Probability of the Girl's surviving this supposed cruel Usage, (*Clear State*, p. 16.) and of her being able afterwards to accomplish her Escape, (*ibid*, p. 18.) The Solution of these are attempted by one Mr. *James Solas Dod*, a Surgeon. As this Gentleman has not been very long inrolled in the List of Authors, his Merits may possibly have escaped your Knowledge.

This Writer, prompted perhaps by the Popularity of the Subject, some Time ago, obliged the Publick with a three Shilling Treatise, entitled, *An Essay towards a Natural History of the HERRING*; which, by the Aid of a new Title Page, is supposed

* *Inspector*, March 29.

to have arrived at a second Edition. This Work abounds with many useful *culinary* as well as *medical* Precepts, and therefore highly merits the Attention of all good House-Wives and crazy Valetudinarians: As herein the former may be furnished with Variety of new Modes of dressing this *Chief of Filth*, and the latter supplied with a *Panacea*, which, by only minding the Author's Directions, is calculated for the Cure of all Diseases, and consequently rendering Man immortal.

It may not unreasonably be presumed, that the same Inducement (that of rendering himself popular) might prevail with Mr. *Dod* to *undertake this Task*, “ 1st, To prove the Probability of her being carried off in her Fits. 2^{dly}, To give some *physical* Reasons why she sunk not under the complicated Sufferings of Body, through want of Food; and Mind, through her Terrors. 3^{dly}, To assign a natural Cause for her Strength in her Escape. 4^{thly}, To enumerate and account for the Effects such Usage had upon her. And, *lastly*, to assure the World, that the Symptoms apparent upon her Return, could not be the Effect of a Salivation, but only of her *prosequent* ill Usage, (*Physical Account*, p. 8.)”

To the first he says, “ It must be allowed that two *Large Men* might be able not only to drag, but carry a Girl, *barely five Feet high*, though *well set*,” especially as by her Fit she was become perfectly resistless, and, as it were, *Dead*. Her falling into Fits, (she had been accustomed to for four Years before) more particularly at the Time of her being attacked, he esteems the Consequence of “ her Fright, which might cause an *irregular Influx of the Animal Spirits*, aided by the Blow; and besides, that it was near the New Moon, which is known to have a remarkable Power over Epilipsies and Convulsions, (*ibid*, p. 11, 12.)”

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In Regard to the Second, he takes Notice, that *Elizabeth Canning* was “ an *Hearty* Girl, *Sanguine*, and of a *Florid Countenance*, that for many Years she had scarce taken half a Pint of liquid Aliment in twenty-four Hours, and consequently was subject to *Costiveness*, and as if she had been *Predisposed* for such an Accident, she, for five Months before, had the common *Female Benefit* totally obstructed, (p. 13, 14.)” From an Habit of Body so circumstanced, he infers the greater Probability of her subsisting with so little Food; which, by a nice Calculation, he rates at three Ounces of Bread, and five of Water, for twenty-four Hours; and by comparing the Quantity secreted, with what was taken in, concludes that she wasted, within twenty-seven Days, twenty Pounds, (p. 16, 20.)

He also informs us, that “ after a little Time, she had no Incitement to Eating, and therefore it is not to be thought she would eat such unfavoury Morfels; but as her Strength decayed, to endeavour a Recruit, nor did she proportion her Allowance to the Time of her Duration, for she had consumed all on the *Friday* before the *Monday* she escaped; so that she had been three whole Days totally without Food, but for the minced Pye in her Pocket.”

The Quality of the Food allotted to her is next considered, which being only Bread, our Author insists, that “ more Nourishment was derived from it than from double the same Quantity of many other Foods; its *Hardness* is said to be an Advantage, in that it was less liable to go off by Stool, (p. 30.)” From these Considerations he doubts not but his Readers will concur with him in the Probability that “ she could subsist and endure Life on the Quantity of Bread and Water she relates she did, (p. 32.)”

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We are now come to the third Part of this difficult Task, to assign Reasons why she so long over-looked the Means of Escaping, and her subsequent Ability to effect it, and return Home. — “ Fear, we are told, is a Passion which, ’till it rises to Despair, *renders the Body cold, jellies the Blood, and numbs the Vital Faculties :*” This Girl had been threatned with immediate Death if she offered to stir, the Apprehension or Fear of which took so strong Possession of her Mind, that it prevented her endeavouring to make her Escape, ’till the whole of her Provision was consumed; she then grew desperate, and at length, “ *the Fear of Death prevailed over the Fear of Death.*” She thought she might as well be knocked on the Head as starved, “ the Fear of which compelled her to make one Effort, and it succeeded. When she was out, *her Despair* subsided, and its Parent *Fear* returned; that *Fear* added Wings to her Flight, and supported her under its Fatigue; that *Fear* hindered her going into any House on the Road, lest her Persecutors might be there; that *Fear* made her enquire her Way of Persons, and that *Fear* keeping her Spirits in the Ferment *Despair* had raised, was the Reason of her Strength. But mark the necessary Effects; when she arrived in Safety, that Ferment having wrought up her Strength to its highest Pitch, a Calm succeeded, and over-wearied Nature sunk to a Weakness *that continued long,* (p. 35.)”

The fourth Point to be treated, is the Effects such ill Usage produced; which, according to this Writer, were “ *Weakness, Faintness of Voice, low Pulse, cold Sweats, great Consumption of Body, livid Blackness of the Skin, the Belly swelled, the Head heavy, an obstinate Costiveness, and a Want of other Evacuations,* (p. 37.)”

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The reconciling these several Symptoms to be the natural Consequence of want of due Nourishment, and the proving that they could not altogether concur in any Case possible to have happened to the Girl, he considers a material Step towards establishing the Credit of the whole Story, (p. 38.)

In Order to this, he transcribes the following Aphorism of *Sanctorius* with *Quincy's* Reasonings upon it, the latter of which I shall omit, as the Original is very easy to be met with, and it would employ more Paper than I have to spare.

By obstinate Fasting the Head will be filled, the Temples will be heated, the Hypochonders distended, and the Legs and Arms enervated; so says *Sanctorius*; and from hence the Weakness of Limbs, the Weakness of her Pulse, cold Sweats and Swellings are accounted for, concludes *Mr. Dod*, (p. 43.)

The remaining Phænomena, as her Wasting, is naturally supposed to be owing to her Fasting, the Blackness of her Skin is explained to be the "Effect of the natural Heat retiring inwards, and leaving the Circumference cold, at the Approach of Death: Her Costiveness by the Quality as well as Quantity of her Food, and that no Excrement was found from the Aliment in her Body at the Beginning of her Confinement, because she was naturally costive, and her *Fears* made her more so by its known Effect of Constipation, (p. 43.)

Our last Article is to confute a malicious Report, as if this Girl had been in a Salivation: The Belief of which, all the Symptoms, but one, that is, the *Blackness of the Skin*, are admitted to support; but if this Consequence was to proceed from such a Cause, says our Author, those Gentlemen would be sadly disappointed, who *Flux* for a *Complexion*, (p. 45.)" To which he adds, that no Reasons can be assigned for a Blackness of the Skin, or even

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black Spots, but “ Blows, the Plague, a Petechial Fever, Scurvy, or *Starving*: Now as it is plain (to him at least) neither of the former could be her Case, it is a presumptive Proof the Discolouration of Skin can only be ascribed to the last, (p. 46.)”

Upon the Whole, he declares *his Opinion*, that he has fully proved the Probability of the Sufficiency of Food to preserve Life; that she had Strength enough remaining for her Escape, and that the Symptoms described cannot be accounted for otherwise than he has mentioned; and therefore he begs “ the Strangeness of the Story may not be an Hindrance to the Belief of it, (*ibid.*)”

There are, in this Pamphlet, a number of Instances produced in support of what is advanced, which as they are not very well chosen, I shall take no Notice of at present, nor of his other Remarks, which indeed, are very trifling, in Vindication of the Girl.

But an Author of greater Importance demands your Attention, whose Station in the World renders him more distinguished; Dr. *Daniel Cox*. His Treatise upon this Subject has been very well received by *the Publick*, to whom he appeals; and his Arguments are, by some, thought to be inexpugnable.

Introductions may, for the most Part, be looked on as Apologies for their respective Authors, and seem calculated more to recommend themselves, than explain their Intentions; this may more especially be said of the Writers upon this Topic: Wherefore, as I have hitherto neglected taking Notice of those of others, the Doctor must forgive me for doing the same by his, and proceeding to what is more immediately conformable to my Design; which is, to review the Reasoning he employs to evince the Truth of *Canning's* Story.

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First, He considers the very fair Character this Girl had till now maintained, as strongly countenancing the Belief of her Tale*.

Secondly, He undertakes to prove, by proper Testimonies, the Falseness of some of the Slanders that have been thrown out against her. (*ibid.* p. 14.)

In Order to this, he tells us, that, "On *Monday April* the 19th, 1753, at the Desire of a Gentleman of Fortune, he went to Mr. *Marshall's*, a Cheesemonger in *Fore-Street*, where *Elizabeth Canning* dwelt, to enquire into the Foundation of a Report every where strongly asserted, that a Midwife had made Information before the Lord Mayor, that she had visited the Mother of *Elizabeth Canning* a few Days after the Girl's Return Home, had seen her Shift, and that it was *too clean* to have been worn so long as had been pretended.

He sent for Mrs. *Canning*, the Mother of the Girl, to Mr. *Marshall's* House, and in his Parlour, in the Presence of himself, and another substantial Tradesman, examined her concerning this Matter: That without offering any leading Questions, he enquired whether the Midwife had seen, and said any Thing about her Daughter's Shift? And the Purport of Mrs. *Canning's* Answer was as follows: That the Midwife desired to see the Girl's Shift, which she came Home in; that she examined it, and said; she would make Oath that, *from the Appearance of the Shift*, the Girl had had no Commerce with Men, nor any Distemper, or other Discharge; for that the Shift was *free from all kind of Stains*, or used Words to this general Effect. He then asked her if the Midwife expressed any Doubt of that Shift's being the Shift the Girl had worn so long? And she replied, No, not in the least. He then asked Mrs. *Canning* if she believed the Shift was the

* *Appeal to the Publick*, p. 10.

same her Daughter had on on *New-Year's-Day*? She replied, she *believed* she went out in that Shift on *New-Year's-Day*. He questioned her as to the Soil upon the Shift, and whether she thought it was dirty enough to have been worn so many Days? And she answered, it was very dirty at the *Sleeves and the Neck*, but *cleaner in the Body*, and to her Belief might have been worn so long. (*ibid.* p. 15, 16, 17.)

One Mrs. *Woodward*, who happened to be present when the Midwife was with Mrs. *Canning*, being sent for, was interrogated in like Manner, by the Doctor, (Mrs. *Canning* being previously put out of the Room) whose Answers corresponded in every Particular, “as to the *Soil upon the Sleeves and Neck* of the Shift, the Freedom from Stains on the lower Parts, and the Declaration of the Midwife. (p. 18.)”

“In a former Visit the Doctor made at Mr. *Marshall's* on the 30th of *March*, the first Time he ever saw Elizabeth *Canning*, being alone with her, he enquired whether before her going from Home, on *New-Year's-Day*, she had been regular in her Courses? She replied, without any Hesitation, that she had not had them for about five Months before. That one Night, being up at Washing, when she was out of Order, she took Cold, and they ceased, nor had returned again but since she came Home. This, we are told, is no uncommon Case with Servants, who are obliged to dabble in cold Water; the Obstructions frequently continuing for some Months, without any great Complaints of Illness. (p. 19.)

Her Costiveness, he observes, ought not to be made an Objection to the Credibility of her Story, “as this State of the Intestines was quite natural to her, and may be esteemed the *principal natural Cause* of the Preservation of her Life, which, under such

such a limited Diet, frequent intestinal Evacuations would probably have destroyed, and which Costiveness *might have continued several Months, had her Diet been the same.* (p. 20.)

Two other Pieces of Slander to be refuted, are, that her Absence was occasioned for the Sake of a Salivation, or in Order to lie in. These Facts the Doctor examined into, as he relates in this Manner.

On *Wednesday, May 9*, he looked into *Elizabeth Canning's* Mouth, discovered no Marks or Scars, such as are usually caused by Mercury when any one is salivated:—Her Skin was discoloured, of a blackish Hue, her Arms retaining that Colour on the 30th of *March*, whereas a Salivation leaves the Skin fair and pale. Neither was the Time of her Absence long enough for such a Process, without leaving some Degree of spitting, and a sore Mouth, when she came Home. (p. 22.)

As a Confutation of the other Piece of Scandal, we are told, “that on *Tuesday May 15*, he took with him *Mrs. Oaks*, first Midwife to the Lying-in-Hospital, in *Brownlow-Street*, who first examined her alone, by the usual Methods; after which, he himself examined her *Breasts* and *Belly*; and lastly, that *Mrs. Rossiter* and *Mrs. Woodward* made a full Examination, in the Presence, and under the Instruction of *Mrs. Oaks*; when the three good Women and the Doctor most sagaciously concurred in Opinion, and all declared their Belief, that *Elizabeth Canning* had never had a Child. (p. 23.)

As to the other Charges, such as her being absent with a Lover, and the like, it is said, “one general Reply may serve for all; let their Truth be proved, and they will not fail gaining Assent.” And in this Author's Opinion, it is incumbent on the Girl's Adversaries, while they rely on the Gipsy's *Alibi* to prove her innocent, they should produce
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some Evidence of *Canning's Alibi*. before they pronounce her guilty. (p. 24.)

Thirdly, The Doctor undertakes, by comparing the Evidence of *Virtue Hall* and *Elizabeth Canning*, and from their Agreement in some Particulars, and Difference in others, to deduce the Truth of both.

Under this Head he remarks, " That whatever Methods of threatening Mr. *Fielding* might use, to induce *Virtue Hall* to become an Evidence in an Affair in which she appeared *to be an Accomplice*, he could not frighten her to give a *false* Evidence; neither could Mr. *Salt*, *Canning's* Solicitor, who took down her Information in Writing in another Room, in the Presence of at least seven or eight Persons, have prompted her Confession, because there are several Parts of *Hall's* Evidence, Mr. *Salt* could not have learned from his Examination of *Canning*, since *Canning* herself had never mentioned them, nor could have known them. If any one had corrupted *Hall*, there must be some Time settled for her Corruption; and she must have been able by this Time to point out the Corruptor, and the Reward for Corruption. (p. 25.) " She swore to Facts when she was under *no Biass with Respect to the Matter of her Evidence*, and her Recantation since, meerly as such, whether on Oath or simple Declaration, does not invalidate that Evidence; since the subsequent Testimony of one, who, while she is making it, declares she was before forsworn, is no Testimony at all, either in Law or common Sense. Besides, her Evidence was declared upon the Oath of one, whose Oath was then *voluntary*, and who must know whether what she swore was true or false, and corresponds with the Evidence of the Prosecutor in every material Article they might jointly know, and differs only in such Points which they might separately know, and is moreover supported

ported by several collateral Testimonies. (p. 27.) which chiefly respect the following Points. (p. 41.)

“ The Identity of the Gipsy Woman, and her Residence at, or about *Endfield Wash*, from the Middle of *December* last, to *February* the first, attested by near one hundred Witnesses, living in the Neighbourhood of *Enfield*. (*ibid.*)

The Testimonies of *two* or *three* Persons who saw a Girl on the *Enfield Road*, on the Evening on which *Canning* says she escaped from *Mother Wells*’s. One of them, *Thomas Bennet* of *Enfield*, mentions a remarkable Circumstance, that she asked him the Way to *London*, and told him *she had been frightened by the Tanner’s Dog*. (p. 42.)

“ The Acknowledgment of their Guilt both from *Mother Wells*, and the Gipsy Woman. The former to several Persons at different Times in *Clerkenwell Prison* before the Trial, and the latter during the Trial, in the Hearing of several credible Witnesses; one of which, *Mr. Hickman*, a Distiller in *Bishopsgate-Street*, swears, that he was present at the Trial of *Mary Squires*, and heard the said *Squires* say, *Poor innocent Creature, and so I did; I wish I had never seen her.*—*Mr. Mead*, a Shoemaker in *Silver-Street*, maketh Oath, that he heard *Mary Squires* say, that he (*Lyon*) was a venerable old Gentleman, and would hang her, and that *Virtue Hall* would save *Mother Wells*, and hang her; but that *Mother Wells* was as guilty as she. *Mr. Surby* of *Silver-Street* swears the same, with this Addition, *that the poor young GENTLEWOMAN, meaning Elizabeth Canning, had been ill used.* (p. 43, 44.)

The Affidavits respecting *Mother Wells*’s Confession, mention her using this Expression to one Witness, *Mr. Olney*, a Farmer and Grazier, at *Northawe*, in the County of *Hertford*: *It was not me that cut the Girl’s Stays off, it was the Gipsy Woman that did it.* To two other Witnesses, *Mr. Jones*,

Jones, a Founder in *Shoe-Lane*, and to Mr. *Ward*, a Breeches-Maker in *Maiden-Lane*, *Southwark*, she acknowledged, *that the Girl was confined in her House eight and twenty Days.* (p. 45.)

The *Enfield* Witnesses are presumed to be the most likely in the right, because the Gipsy Woman they swear to is the very identical Person that was taken from Mother *Wells's* on the first of *February*, was carried publickly in a Cart, in the View of many of these Witnesses, to Justice *Tysmaker*.—She was afterwards committed to *Newgate*, where ALL these Witnesses have again seen, and owned her, and the Gipsy herself told an Alderman, and the Doctor, that she was almost fourscore Years old ; whence he infers, that she is a Subject not very likely to ramble in the Depth of Winter 140 Miles, or to travel the Country any where as a Dealer in Handkerchiefs, &c. since this is an Occupation rather suited to younger Pedlars.—Whereas the Gipsy taken at *Enfield*, is spoken of there as going about the Country, pretending to tell Fortunes, and mend China. Perhaps there may be two Gipsy Women so much alike, as that the honest Witnesses may have sworn what they believe to be true. (p. 48.)

The Doctor concludes, “ that as his Design was to produce Evidence of Matters of Fact ; if he has done this in a satisfactory Manner, it will be of small Use to answer the Objections made to the Probability of some Part of the Story, since all Facts cease to be improbable, when proved to be true, and their Truth is not to be evinced by Reasoning but Evidence. (p. 48.)

We have now gone through those Pieces that have been owned by their Parents ; there have been several others published, to which the respective Authors have not affixed their Names, prevented perhaps by their Modesty or Obscurity. Nevertheless, there are among them that are not quite so
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contemptible, as the judicious Mr. *Dod* seems to think *, and it is possible in the subsequent Observations I may make Use of some of them.

But first, it may not be amiss to recapitulate the Evidence offered in Behalf of *Canning*.—All the supposed Improbabilities attending her Narrative are confuted: Sufficient Reasons are assigned for the Belief of it; and the Validity of *Virtue Hall's* Testimony is established beyond Contradiction, even notwithstanding her Recantation, in the Opinion of Messrs. *Fielding*, *Dod*, and *Cox*.—By the latter we are also assured, that her Character is free from Reproach, and her Person from any Suspicion of having been salivated, or *delivered of a Child*.—Witnesses by Hundreds (for it is reported since the Doctor's Publication, they have had very considerable Reinforcements) are ready to prove the Presence and Abode of the old Gipsy, in or about *Enfield*, before, at, and after the Time of the Robbery.—To these are added, the Criminals Acknowledgment of their own Guilt.

Well, perhaps you will ask, can the most pertinacious of the Girl's Opponents require any stronger Proofs? Are not these sufficient to convince the most obstinate Unbelievers? No; they have not yet produced this wished for Effect: There are still Infidels, and not a few such; I confess myself to be of their Number; but you will expect me to shew some Reasons for my Incredulity: Wherefore, though I do not altogether admit Doctor *Cox's* *Postulatum*, viz. *That it is by the Testimony of Evidence ALONE that the Truth of any Fact can absolutely be determined*; yet I flatter myself, that my Opinion will not appear destitute of some Evidence, such Evidence as, I believe, the warmest Advocate for the other Side of the Question will hardly dispute the Credit or Veracity of.

* *Physical Account*, p. 6.

The first Witness I shall call is *Elizabeth Canning*, even the same *Elizabeth Canning* who first propagated this Story, and upon whose *Reputation* it has been so earnestly espoused. Her Testimony, instead of being *constant, uniform, and invariable*, as her Fautors have asserted, seems to me *rash, inconsonant, and ever changing*, and in its own Nature and Arrangement sufficient to discountenance any Belief of it.

It appears from a printed Paper, called her *Case*, which was so industriously, though unjustifiably, dispersed by her Friends, that when this Girl thought convenient to make her Appearance, upon being asked where she had been, *she could give no other Account, than that she had been confined in a House on the Hertfordshire Road, which she knew by seeing the Coachman who drove her Mistress into that Country, pass by, through a Hole in the Window* *.

It is clear from hence, that, at this Time, she neither knew the particular Place of her Confinement, or the Person, or Persons, who had so maltreated her: But *the House of that notorious Woman, well known by the Name of MOTHER WELLS, between Enfield Wash, and Waltham Cross, was IMMEDIATELY SUSPECTED.*

It would have been greatly satisfactory to have been informed from whom this Suspicion first arose. Well known as this Woman and her House is said to be, it may be presumed very few of the Persons who were present with this Girl the first Night of her Visibility after her Concealment, had even heard of, much less could have been acquainted with a little Hedge Bawdy-house ten Miles from *London*; it would be injurious to the Repute they live with in the World to entertain such a Supposition. In Truth, this Suspicion was first suggested by an idle

* See Appendix. No. 1.

insignificant Fellow, who had long frequented it, and to whom the Rooms and Windows were well known, his Name * * * * †.

The Hint was no sooner started, than it was unanimously agreed, that it must be true; and upon this Foundation, and only this, (for it is evident she had no certain Knowledge of her own) this *unhappy young Woman* was taken before the sitting Alderman, and in his Presence swore positively to her having been robbed and confined by *Mother Wells*; and accordingly a Warrant was granted for the apprehending *only Mother Wells*. It is indeed, without some Proof, almost incredible to think an innocent unpracticed Girl should thus boldly at once run the Hazard of a Perjury; therefore, to remove all Doubts of the Truth of what I assert, I have annexed the Copy of the original Warrant, granted by Alderman *Chitty**.

It was at this Examination she gave that erroneous Description of her pretended Prison, mentioned by *Dr. Hill*; a Description so destitute of every Circumstance necessary to its Credibility, that it is surprising she was not immediately abandoned by all, as she in Reality was by some, who, while they thought her injured and innocent, had espoused her Cause with equal Zeal.

After having thus wilfully and precipitately sworn against the Liberty and Life of a Woman, it is not even pretended she had ever heard of but by the Conjecture of those about her, what may she not be presumed capable of saying, or swearing? Surely this alone ought to have rendered her Evidence

† The Name is not omitted out of any Regard to the Man, but only as it is possible he may appear as a Witness on the future Trial, the Insertion of it may be construed as an Intention to prejudice him in the Opinion of the Court.

* See *Appendix* No. 2.

not only suspected, but entirely disbelieved : And it is not a little wonderful to observe, what a Proficient this Novice suddenly becomes in the Mystery of Information-making : With what Facility she swallows Oath after Oath, only now and then contradicting, adding, or altering a few trifling Circumstances.

But to proceed, On the first of *February* a considerable Posse was raised, a Coach, a Chaise, and Horsemen, to attend the Execution of the Warrant; when behold, this poor, honest, innocent, simple Girl (as Mr. *Fielding* affects to call her) charges an old Gipsy Woman, who happened accidentally to be there, with the same Fact she had before absolutely accused *Wells* of ; and she, who had before positively sworn it against the latter, now as positively, before another Magistrate, swears it against the former : And as she was induced to the one merely by the *Suggestion of her Friends*, so perhaps she was prevailed on to the other by a Motive of equal Weight, the Prediction of the *Old Bailey* Fortune-teller.

The Gipsy and Mother *Wells* were hereupon committed to different Prisons ; the latter not charged with any particular Offence by *Canning*, but only for keeping a disorderly House : Yet this was not sufficient to convict the old Woman, wherefore it was necessary to find another Witness, to corroborate the Testimony of the Girl ; and in Order to this, it was equally needful to find another Magistrate to take a fresh Information from *Canning* ; and who could be so fit for their Purpose as Justice *Fielding*, who, according to himself, *has had notable Success in detecting Falsehood and Perjury!* (*Fielding*, p. 58.)

Accordingly, *February* the 7th, the young Gentlewoman is carried in a Chair before his Worship in *Bow-Street*, attended by her Solicitor, Mr. *Sal*,
with

with her Information *ready drawn up in Writing*, which being read to her, she as roundly swore to this, as she had done to any of the former: Here be pleased to observe, what a rapid Progress she makes in this Business of swearing, within the Space of little more than three Weeks. *This Child, in Years as well as Understanding*, who, on the 29th of January, could give no Account, but what has been before related, who, on the 31st of the same Instant, could give but a very imperfect Description of the Place of her Confinement, who had clearly acknowledged herself mistaken in the Person of her Persecutor, can, before Mr. Fielding, exactly describe the Dress of the two Men that robbed her in *Moorfields*, viz. that they had *brown bob Wigs on*, and *Drab-coloured great Coats*: And at the Old Bailey, about a Fortnight afterwards, speaks to their Size, that they were *lusty Men*.—At the same Place also, she adds a Circumstance forgot before his Worship, *that they put an Handkerchief to her Mouth, and tied her Hands behind her*.—At the Justice's she knew the Hour she arrived at Mother Wells's, *because she heard it mentioned by some in the House*: On the Trial, *because it was three Hours or better to Day-light*.—She can now likewise recollect *all the Company that were in the Kitchen she was first brought into*.—In her Information she lays, *one of the Men took off her Cap at Wells's*: At the Old Bailey she swears *Nothing was taken from her there but her Stays*.—Before his Worship, she was put into a Room without any Furniture, and there locked in; before the Court, there was a Grate, and many other Particulars, and that she did not know whether the Door was fastened or not.—Before the former, that she had often heard the Name of Mrs. or Mother Wells called upon, whom she understood to be the Mistress of the House: (A Circumstance, which if before remembered, would have immediately

ately pointed out the House, without being obliged to have Recourse to Conjecture :) Before the latter this is not mentioned, nor does she pretend ever to have seen Mother *Wells* in her Life, 'till such Time as she went down afterwards to take her up. — Lastly, before the Justice she swore, that *she had consumed all her Bread and Water on Friday the 26th of January, and continued without having any Thing to eat or drink, until the Monday following: Before the Court, that she did not finish her Water 'till about half an Hour before she got out of the Room**.

I cannot omit one Observation more; it is notorious that she, at first, asserted, and confirmed that Assertion upon Oath, that she had been confined in a DARK Room; this is ready to be attested by Messieurs *Roberts, Miles, Marshal, Garrard, Brydon* and *King*†: On the contrary, it is as well known to be a very LIGHT Room, (the very Name of a *Work shop* implies as much) with two Windows in it, the half of one of which only was boarded up: Now, though she might over-look, or not recollect about a Cart-load of other Particulars, it is impossible she should not have distinguished DARKNESS from LIGHT; and so conscious does she seem of the Force of this Objection, that both before Mr. *Fielding*, and the Court, she carefully avoids repeating this Circumstance, and only says it was a *Back-Room*.

Let any impartial Person seriously weigh the whole Tenor of this Girl's Testimony, as it stands connected, and will it not appear from the first to last, precipitate, incongruous, and contradictory? It is an Axiom in Law, that a *Witness* alleging Contrarieties ought not to be heard, surely then not to be believed; and that an Oath is indivisible, and

* See Appendix, No. 3.

† Ibid. No. 1.

cannot be admitted, partly true and partly false; Reason clearly confirms the Truth of this Maxim: Was it therefore fitting that the Life of the most contemptible of human Beings should be even put in Danger by such Evidence? Much less, that three Persons, (for two more were proscribed, and a Price set upon their Heads) should be given up Victims to this Heap of Inconsistencies: The Jury are in no Sort culpable for their Verdict, seeing it is not to be presumed they could know any more than what was offered to them on the Trial: Those People also, whose Opinion has been guided only by the *Sessions-Paper*, are, in some Sort, excusable; but what shall be said for those who were privy to every Part of this obscure Transaction, and who, nevertheless, obstinately persisted to encourage this Prosecution; but that their Conduct therein certainly merits the highest Censure, and the Measures employed to compass the Death of the old Gipsy, were such as cannot be, in any Shape, vindicated: But of this last, more hereafter.

Is it possible that any Thing offered should ever prevail to persuade a Belief of a Testimony so incoherent in itself? Certainly what is urged appears but very indifferently calculated to answer this Purpose; the Oath of a Person professedly infamous, the Oath of *Virtue Hall*, and this obtained in such a Manner, and under such Circumstances, as greatly invalidates its Credibility.

By a Paragraph in the Daily Paper, published under the acknowledged Patronage of the Justice, or his Clerk, we are told, that *Virtue Hall* was apprehended by a Warrant granted from Mr. Fielding, on *Thursday February* the 8th, and being brought before him, was under Examination from six 'till twelve at Night; when, after many hard Struggles, and stout Denials of the Truth, she, at length, confessed

*essed the WHOLE.** — By Mr. *Fielding* himself we are told, she could not be prevailed on to make this Information 'till the 13th or 14th, (for the Head and Tail of it differ in that Respect) and then but with great Reluctance.

The same Authority may be presumed to support the Belief of both these Accounts, but it may be somewhat difficult to reconcile them to a common Understanding, or, if this Witness had, on the 8th, confessed the Whole, to assign any reasonable Cause for those *Tears* and *Tremors*, or those *Prevarications* and *Contradictions*, which were manifest in her, on her Appearance before his Worship on the 14th; unless we may be allowed to ascribe it to her being conscious of the Falseness of what she had before said, and was therefore unwilling to confirm that Falseness by Perjury. In this Light, and this only, this Transaction appears to me; for what else had she to dread? Her *Fears of the Gipsy Woman and Wells*, (p. 10.) are, in themselves, perfectly ridiculous, as, by a Compliance, she would most effectually put it out of the Power of either of them to do her any Injury.

Mr. *Fielding* says, That “ *Virtue Hall* was in his House above an Hour or more before he was at Leisure to see them, during which Time, and before he had ever seen her, he was INFORMED that she would confess the whole Matter ||.

Was it improper or unnecessary for the Publick to know who this Informant was? It is unnatural to imagine this Concession could have been obtained without some *Practices* having been employed for that Purpose: What they were, or by whom, may not be positively known; nevertheless, while People labour under Uncertainty, they will be apt to form Conjectures, ill-natured, and, perhaps, mistaken

* See Appendix, No. 4.

|| *Clear State*, p. 39.

Conjectures; and should they attribute these *Practices* to his Worship's Clerk, or Mr. Solicitor *Salt*, they may, possibly, think they have Reason for so doing, by supposing their superior Knowledge, and long Converse in Affairs of this Sort, made them more capable than others.

Would not any Person conclude, from the Manner in which this Part of the Matter is related, that the taking *Hall's* Examination, and her Information, in Writing, was the Business of only one Day, even of the 14th Day of *February*? Is there, in this *Clear State of the Case*, any, the least, Hint given, whereby it might be collected, that there had been any previous Examination and Confession? Yet that there was one is evident, not only from the before-recited News-Paper, but, also, from a long laboured Paragraph in another of the same Date, a Paper particularly retained in the Service of the Prosecution, and which was considered of so great Consequence, as to deserve a Place two Days successively*.

But why was so material a Circumstance omitted, especially in the Detail of a *Piece of Evidence upon which the principal Credit of this Story was to depend*; Evidence said to be altogether *Convincing* and *Insurmountable*†, and, in every other Respect, so minutely reported? Is it agreeable to that Candour the worshipful Author professes, and which, for the most Part, distinguishes his Proceedings? It would be Cruelty to insinuate it was done with a View to mislead his Readers; therefore we will only ascribe it to *the extream Hurry in which this Case was drawn up*, for this might be forgot as well as other Observations.

Since then it is clear there were two Examinations, *her Unwillingness to deliver her Evidence on the*

* *Appendix*, No. 5.

† *Supra*, p. 9.

last, (for to that Mr. *Fielding* seems chiefly to allude) *was, indeed, unnatural, as she must have come prepared* * : In this Dr. *Cox* and I are agreed, and for *the Time necessary for her being corrupted* †, if any such Thing was attempted, suppose it should be settled to have been among those Days that intervened between the two Examinations. It might be judged prudent to allow her this Time, that she should the better recollect, or be put in mind of such Points, as *she might know separately from Canning* || : And so remarkable was their Care to prevent her being tampered with by any, — *but her Accusers and their Friends*, that no Person was permitted to see her in the *Gate-House*, before the Trial at the *Old Bailey*, but such as brought a Passport from Mr. *Salt*. Whether this Caution will, by the Impartial, be construed to favour more of Wisdom than Fear, (the Fear, I mean, lest a Confession so hardly obtained, should as willingly be retracted) I will not take upon myself to determine; but, this I know, the Fact is true, nor, do I believe, they will venture to deny it.

It may be further remarked, that *Virtue Hall* steadfastly denied any Knowledge of *Canning* before Mr. *Tyschemaker*, and she as strongly maintained the same before Mr. *Fielding*, for the Space of six Hours. What Reason then can be assigned why her Denial might not be as true as her Confession? Did it not, in Reality, deserve a greater Share of Credit, having been so long and so resolutely insisted on, and, moreover, strengthened by the Deposition of *Judith Natus*? And what was there to countenance a contrary Belief? Nothing, but a Story, acknowledged by the Justice himself, to be *strange*,

* *Cox's Appeal*, p. 26. † *Ibid.* || See *Cox's*, p. 27.

*unaccountable, and scarce credible**. There appears little Room to doubt, that had she been required to swear to the Truth of the former, but she would have complied without Hesitation; and it is admitted she could not be prevailed on to the latter, 'till she was threatned to be *prosecuted as a Felon*. Can such an Oath be called voluntary? Does it not rather imply, that it was previously resolved, that nothing should be granted to be *Truth*, but what would serve the Purpose of the intended Prosecution?

A regular Deduction of this Woman's Evidence, may, possibly, contribute to explain the Reasonableness of that Concordance that is seen between her Testimony, and that of *Elizabeth Canning*, upon which, so great a Stress is laid. — *Virtue Hall*, an ignorant Prostitute, was, on the 8th Day of *February*, apprehended, in consequence of a Warrant, by Persons who went from *London* for that Purpose, and who were closely attached to the Interest of her Adversary: Hence it may be, not unfairly, presumed, that after having taken her into Custody, they might use such Endeavours, as, to them, seemed convenient to draw from her what was most conducive to support their own Opinion: She, conscious of her own Demerits, and sensible how greatly her dissolute Course of Life exposed her to the Penalties of the Law, might (merely for the Sake of evading her deserved Punishment, or rendering it more easy) be prevailed on to encourage a Belief she could not but easily discern was pleasing to her Persecutors; and common Experience plainly proves, that most Men are readier to credit what flatters, than what contradicts their Wishes. — Thus fully perswaded of her Compliance, they hurry her before the Justice, and send to inform

* *Clear State*, p. 13.

him that she would *confess the whole Matter*: But what must be his Worship's Surprize, as soon as he was at Leisure to afford his Attendance, to find, that notwithstanding all his Rhetorick to sooth and comfort her, she stubbornly persisted in an absolute Denial, from six o'Clock in the Evening, 'till twelve at Night? When, being thoroughly convinced, that nothing she could say on that Side the Question would be believed, and that her Perseverance in the same might subject her to a more severe Treatment, her Constancy was, at last, subdued, and she submitted to acknowledge — *whatever was asked or desired of her*.

This principal Point having been gained, she was committed to the Custody of Mr. Salt, Keeper of the *Gate-House*, and Brother to *Canning's* Solicitor, where, as has been already observed, the Access of all impartial Advice was effectually interdicted. — On the 13th or 14th, her second Appearance may be presumed to have been before his Worship; when, though she had, as it is said, before made so full a Confession, she was still *very reluctantly*, even not 'till she was threatned with a Prosecution, whereby her own Life might be endangered, brought to sign or swear to the written Information. Reluctantly, I say, for Mr. *Fielding* admits it to be so; and how could it be otherwise? Is there a Conscience so steel'd against Remorse, as to be insensible of those Pangs that must necessarily arise from a Consciousness of being deliberately guilty of a Crime, that, in its Consequence, was intended to take away the Lives of Persons the Accuser herself knew to be guiltless?

Can this Woman be said to be under *no Bias with respect to the Matter of her Evidence*, as Dr. *Cox* insists *? Surely this is all that was contended

* *Appeal*, p. 27.

for: Else why were all those Lenitives and Corro-sives applied? It was not because she stood mute; it was not because she would not swear at all; but, it was because she would not swear to such Matters as more peculiarly corresponded with the Inclinations of the Prosecutors.

The Premises being duly considered, it would have appeared much more unaccountable, had not these two Informations coincided with each other, than that they did: It shall not be said that *Hall's* Confession was prompted by *Mr. Salt**, but *He* was *Canning's* Solicitor; and therefore a little Partiality, in Favour of a Client, who afforded the Prospect of such pretty Pickings, might be excusable: He had drawn her Information, and he best knew what was most expedient for the Prisoner in the *Gate-House* (to whom he had free Admittance) to swear, in order to corroborate it: A few leading Questions, answered with a simple Affirmative, or Negative, (and Yes, or No, are soon said) were sufficient to satisfy those who were so willing to be satisfied; which might be the Case of *the seven or eight Persons* † mentioned to be present when he took down this last Information: And the Condition of *Virtue Hall* might be, that having once daubed her Fingers, she was now under a Necessity of plunging over Head and Ears in the Dirt. Far be it from me to say these Things were so, but is it not a reasonable Presumption?

The Consideration of this Article has been already spun out to an undesirable Length, but it was the more necessary, it having been held, the Corner Stone whereon the Patrons of this miraculous Story, particularly *Mr. Fielding* and *Dr. Cox*, have rested the chief Part of its Credibility: Though, notwithstanding all these Opportunities

* *Appeal*, 25.

† *Ibid.*

to have made these two Informations exactly tally together, there are still Disagreements obvious, even to a negligent Reader; therefore I shall not waste any Time in pointing them out: But there is one remarkable Blunder well worth Notice, where *Hall* swears, that *Fortune Natus*, and his Wife, after having laid eleven Weeks on a Bed of Hay, in the Kitchen, until *Thursday* the first of *February*, on the Evening of that Day, laid up in the Work-shop where *Elizabeth Canning* had been confined; so that, as she understood, it might be pretended that they had lain in the said Work-shop for all the Time they had lodged in *Wells's House**; and she, afterwards, affirmed the same, of her own Accord, and that it was done by *Mother Wells*, to give a Colour to the Defence which *Wells* was to make, and which these People, in the Presence of *Virtue Hall*, had agreed to swear to†. Now it happens that *Mother Wells* was committed to Prison on the Morning of this first of *February*, therefore it could not be done by her; and if this had been concerted before-hand, which is a Contradiction in itself, surely she would have sent them up thither, at least, the Night before, or as soon as *Canning's* Escape was discovered; for it could answer no Purpose to send them there after her being taken up.

Upon the Whole, Is not Falsehood manifestly portraited in *Canning's* Evidence? Is there not very sufficient Cause to discourage any Belief of *Hall's*? Does it not therefore imply an Absurdity to imagine that an Agreement between them, in some Particulars, can add any Sort of Weight to Testimonies, that, separately considered, can make no Pretensions to Credit?

Mr. Fielding says, this Girl (*Canning*) could have no Expectations of getting Money by this Attempt||.

* Appendix, No. 6.

† Clear State, p. 48.

|| P. 22.

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I concur with him, that when she first told her Tale, there is some Reason to believe she had not: Nevertheless, there was a Subscription immediatly set on Foot, at first, only privately among her Neighbours, but, in a few Day afterwards, this Tax upon the Humanity of the Publick, was more generally imposed by the Distribution of what was called her Case: Donations were, in the Beginning, asked only for the better *carrying on the Prosecutions**, but, as early as the 14th of February, they were required *as a Recompence to the poor Girl, for her Virtue, and the Miseries she had gone through†*. This was before the last Examination of this Matter, and therefore that noble generous Lord could not be the first Proposer of Reward ||: And though the Hope of Money might not be her primary Motive, it may not be unnatural to assign it as a Reason for her subsequent Perseverance and Inflexibility. Her Character had been sufficiently established by her officious Friends, Subscriptions came in a-pace, with many promising Presages of future Advantages, all which must have, at once, fallen to the Ground, if she had, in the least, flinched or deviated in relating her Story: These Things must have been strongly imprinted on her Memory, and the Reflections arising from those Impressions might inspire her with that Audacity, which was, afterwards, so evident in her Behaviour, and which was, indeed, so necessary to uphold her in her frequent Repetitions: To this may be added, (for Experience evinces the Observation) that the Weakness of her Understanding might render her insensible of those Blushes, that superior Talents could not have concealed.

Is it an unreasonable Presumption to believe his Worship's *so very solemn* Appeal § may have con-

* Appendix, No. 1. † Ibid. p. 7. || Clear State, p. 22, § P. 12.

duced more to the establishing the Faith of this ill-contrived Fable, than the Weight of his Arguments? Popular Opinion is for the most Part governed by Authority, and Mr. *Fielding's* Judgment, in what more immediately concerns the human Heart, has long held the Pre-eminence. Or is it an improbable Conjecture, to suppose it to have been so intended? The former might prevail with his Admirers, of whom he has deservedly many; but surely he did not expect the latter could have had any great Force, even with those most feeble Intellects, such as they are, Dr. *Hill*, thought them worth his Consideration, to whom, if you think it necessary, you may refer.

The Advocates that have been employed, or who have forwardly engaged themselves in the Defence of this perplexed Affair, seem either wilfully or ignorantly to have mistaken what ought to have been the chief Object of their Intentions: Instead of combating Shadows about *Possibles* and *Probables*, it greatly behoved them first of all to have ascertained the *Facts* by some better Evidence.

Thus the ingenious Mr. *Dod*, having very readily yielded his own Assent to this Prodigy, thinks it incumbent on him to endeavour to reconcile it to the Belief of others, and without assigning any Reasons for his Faith, sets his Wits to work to unriddle those Obscurities Mr. *Fielding* had left unfolded.

But so unfortunate is he in the Execution of his Undertaking, that, instead of removing Doubts, he rather adds to them; for, was a lifeless Carcass, and such he supposes her to be in Appearance, (p. 22.) fit for the Occupation of a Gipsy, or a Prostitute? The Blow that is pretended to have stunned her, and thrown her into this long Fit, might as well have killed her; and it is most likely, that Russians so ignorant, and undiscerning, should have imagined her in Reality dead; had they therefore, carried her in this Condition to this same Surgeon,

as a Subject for Dissection, a tolerable Motive might be alledged for their Proceedings, otherwise they are truly unaccountable.

That this Girl was (*p. 23*) *predisposed* to whatever Accident might happen to her, may be admitted ; but that this Accident was such a Deprivation of Food as she pretended, or that she subsisted upon nothing but these hard Crusts, and a Jug of Water, is not quite so clear. *Virtue Hall's* Information explains the Conveyance of the latter ; and surely it was of equal Importance to have given some Account of the Importation of the former. Is it customary for People to carry their offal Bread up Stairs, and scatter it in such Quantities in a Lumber-Room, especially in the Country, where it may be made so useful to many Purposes ? Or, is this Prodigality suitable to the known Indigence of these poor Wretches ? Can it be supposed, that these Crusts were industriously hoarded up, merely to be made the Instruments of an intended Persecution ? Or, were these Women endued with the Gift of Pre-science, that they could fore-know they should meet with an Object so tenacious of her *Virtue*, whereby they should have an Occasion to use this Cruelty ? These are Objections that naturally occur, and were not improper to have been considered antecedent to a medical Discussion.

A great Unhappiness attends this learned Author, that nothing useful to the Cause he espouses, or explanatory of the Mysteries accompanying it, can be collected from his *Physical Labours*. He indeed plainly distinguishes his Dexterity in Index-hunting, by his injudicious Catalogue of *Fasters* ; but unluckily, there is not one among them that can be said to be parallel to *Canning's* romantick Case, or that can in the least strengthen that Belief he is so desirous to impose on the Publick. Without travelling through the Rubbish of Antiquity, he might

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have

have picked up an Instance that happened within this last half Century, and very near Home, greatly resembling, in many Particulars, the Tale he endeavours to defend. It is of one RICHARD HATHAWAY, a Boy in Years, in the *Borough of Southwark*, who, like this Girl, from no apparent Motive, pretended to have been persecuted by, and sought the Death of a poor old innocent Woman; like her he assumed the Pretext of Fasting, and, like hers, his Story, notwithstanding the most evident Proofs of its Falseness had been manifestly produced, was firmly believed, and stubbornly defended by many, among whom may be numbered two Aldermen of the City of *London*, and a Doctor of Physick. This Deception, after having been carried on for near two Years, was at last unravelled; he was tried, and convicted as an Impostor*. What has been may be again.

Nor can this Gentleman's *physical* Reasonings be said to contribute much either to the Service of his Client, or the Information of his Readers: But though he is displeased with the Ladies, that they should ridicule this *Innocent's* Pretensions to *Virtue*, he has furnished a pretty Prescription to such of them as may have an Inclination to grow plump.—Let them only sleep in a *damp Stone Kitchen*, and thereby procure an Obstruction of their *common female Benefits*: And if they are not happy in a naturally costive Habit of Body, let them be tied up by Art, then turn them into a cold Garret, and feed them plentifully with nothing but *Sea-Biscuit*, or *hard Crusts* of Bread; (for those he affirms yield double the Nourishment of any Kind of *Flesh*) if they are ever so lean, they will soon become fat. *Probatum est* by Mr. *Dod*, and confirmed by Dr. *Cox*†.

Are we one Jot better instructed by his curious Pedigree of the Passions? How grievously has he

* *State Trials*, Vol. 5.

† *Supra* 29.

tortured

tortured that poor Monosyllable *Fear*, merely in Order to adapt it to the Use of his knotty Theme? And in Opposition to Nature's never-erring Uniformity, he ascribes to its Operations, contrary Effects in the same Subject: Thus Fear is first employed to *numb* this Girl's *vital Faculties*, and thereby to retard her attempting an Escape; and soon afterwards is made Use of to *add Wings to her Flight*, and *support her under its Fatigue*†. Irreconcilable Contradiction! A better Cause might have been weakened by such Defence.

That she (*Cunning*) came Home in the Condition he has described, is asserted by him to be a *well-known* Fact: Nevertheless, to those who have not had the Honour of being admitted of her Cabinet-Counsel, there are many Circumstances that oppugn this Assurance. Was a Person labouring under these accumulated Infirmities fit to be carried, or able to travel so far, within the Space of two Days? The Conduct of her own Friends by no Means implies, that they were of Opinion she was so extremely weak as is represented; for if they had so thought, would four hearty Men have lazily lolled in a Coach, and two healthy Women, one of whom was her Mother, have filled the covered Part of a Chaise, and placed her on a *back Seat*, exposed to the Inclemency of the Weather, on the first of *February*; a Seat little inferior in Point of Ease, to riding on the Coach-box? That they did so, is really true; her Companions in this extraordinary Expedition must all attest it: If they believed her to be so feeble, or if she truly was so, such Management is certainly incomprehensible to a common Capacity.

That the several Symptoms enumerated did actually occur, we have no Authority to believe, except from the simple Assertion of this Writer, to

† *Supra* 24.

oppose which it may be observed, that Mr. Backler the Apothecary, who, from the Beginning, attended her, says, at the *Old Bailey* only, that her Voice was low, her Pulse scarcely to be felt, with cold Sweats; that she told him, she had no Passage during her Confinement, and that she was then in such a Condition that she had a Glyster administered to her the same Day, which was often repeated, and after some Time relieved her *. We are told nothing here of the great Consumption of Body, the livid Blackness of the Skin, the Heaviness of the Head, or the Swelling of the Belly †. It is not to be presumed, that this Gentleman would conceal any Circumstance, which might add to the Horror of the Tale, or that might inspire Pity for the Sufferer, especially at that Place, and on that Occasion. To what then can this Deficiency of so many Particulars be ascribed? It would be the highest Injustice to impute it to his Want of Discernment; rather let it be acknowledged, that the Girl at this Time made no other Complaints: The same treacherous Memory that could not at first recollect any Thing relative to the Place of her Confinement, might not immediately remember every Thing that affected herself. To what then shall this Redundance in Mr. Dod's Relation be attributed? Not that all these Symptoms really did trouble her; but because, in his Judgment, founded on the Sanctorian Doctrine, they ought to have attended any one in her pretended Situation, and therefore he fished for them; nor will it appear at all surprising, that she, who could, after her last *Enfield* Expedition, so exactly particularize the Contents of Mother Wells's Lumber-Room, might, with a little Assistance, as easily, after her Recovery, call to mind those Particulars of her Afflictions, she had forgot while she laboured under them.

* *Sessions Paper*, p. 113.

† *Supra* 24.

It was proposed, by a Gentleman of the Faculty, whose Advice was very early asked, to have got her into *St. Bartholomew's-Hospital*; this Proposal was at first accepted, but when the same Gentleman, who had given himself the Trouble to get an Order for her Admission, came a few Days after, prepared with every other Necessary, even to so much as a Chair to carry her thither, that they might not be burthened with the least Expence, he was told their Minds were changed, and that it was resolved she should not go into any Hospital.— Had this humane Design taken Effect, there would have been no Opportunity of answering Objections some Months after the supposed Facts; seeing she would there have been placed under the Care of Gentlemen, whose superior Judgment would have immediately prevailed over all the little Contrivances Fraud could suggest, and whose Integrity effectually shut the Door against any Suspicion of Corruption: Can any adequate Motive be offered why this benevolent Proposition was rejected? It could not be thought that it was unworthy her Birth, or Station in Life. Can any other Reason be given, but that she was apprehensive of having her Artifices *detected*?

Dr. Cox's Evidences are, for the most Part, as unfortunate as the last mentioned Author's Arguments, inasmuch that they may, not improperly, be said to betray the Cause they are intended to assist,— Thus, in Regard to the Doctor's Enquiries about the Cleanness of the Shift, after all his Pains to make a Discovery, we can learn no more, than that it was not quite so clean as when it was put on: For the Women *only* say, that it was *very dirty* at the *Neck* and *Sleeves*, but cleaner in the Body*. Would there have been any Impro-

* *Supra* 28.

priety to have asked, how Miss employed herself in Mother *Wells's* Workshop, that she should so greatly soil the *Sleeves* and *Neck* of the Shift? Or, considering she had been before robbed of her Gown and Stays, how she contrived to keep the *Body* of it free from an equal Degree of Foulness? It cannot be allowed, that an old Bed-Gown, said to be found in a *dirty* Grate, was a Covering convenient to keep her clean.

Upwards of four Months from the Date of this Girl's Elopement, the Doctor looked for Marks, and Scars in her Mouth, to judge whether she had undergone a Salivation, as has been scandalously reported: Would it not have been very extraordinary if he had found any? Nor is Madam's Chastity very judiciously vindicated by what *he* and his *Female Coadjutors*, after their repeated and curious Examination of her, have certified in her Favour. They do not pretend to be of Opinion, that *Elizabeth Canning* continued a *Virgin*, or that she had never been *pregnant*; but only declare their *Belief*, that she never *had* a *Child**. So vague a Testimony it is to be feared, will, instead of raising the Value of her so much boasted Reputation, render it still more suspected by the reasonable and unprejudiced Part of the Publick.

Was it to have been expected that a Gentleman of so profound Learning as Doctor *Cox*, a Disputant in the *Robin-Hood* Society, would have offered a Plea suitable only to the Capacities of the most ignorant of the Mob who have patronized the Girl? Is it possible he could ever think it incumbent on those, who were of a contrary Faith to himself, to produce Evidence to prove where, and with whom this Wench had concealed herself? His own Observation concerning the unaccountable Conduct

* *Supra* 29.

of the imagined Robbers, may serve for a full Reply: For supposing her to have bestowed herself with a *Lover*, or that she was shut up for the Convenience of procuring an *Abortion*; either the one or the other are *Facts in their very Nature obscure*, and admit of *no clearing up*, but by the *Parties themselves*†.

Affidavits taken *ex parte* before a Justice of Peace have no Influence in a Court, nor ought they to carry any great Weight with thinking People, seeing an open Examination frequently proves their Falseness. It is not impossible, it may so happen among this Cloud of Witnesses who have sworn to the Gipsy's Identity, and Residence at, or about *Endfield-Wash.*— To these will be opposed the Testimonies of many, who are equally positive to her being at *Abbotsbury*, and in that Neighbourhood, at the Time she is supposed to be at the former Place. And it may be submitted even to the Doctor himself, who are most likely to be in the *right*, those who pretend but to have seen her transiently on the *Road*, or in *Newgate* §, or those who have intimately known her from *thirty to three Years*, and from thence to the present Day? Which have the justest Claim to Credit, Persons living many Miles apart, and who can have no Knowledge of, or no Communication with each other, but who, nevertheless, concur to corroborate the same Facts; or a Set of People, that, according to all Appearance, have been picked up, merely to serve this particular Purpose? Picked up, I have said, and there are strong Presumptions in Favour of this Opinion; for it is clear, and they know it, that the Gipsy's *alibi* Defence could not be a concerted one: When she was first apprehended she insisted on the same, and as they could not but be apprised, that

† *Appeal*, p. 29.

§ *Supra* 32.

it would be made Use of at the *Old Bailey*, is it to be believed, (if they could have found any other) they would have relied on a single Testimony to have disproved it, and that of a Man of very indifferent Repute, one *John Iniver*: No other was produced on the Trial †.

The Testimonies of the two or three, who pretend to have seen her on the Way in her Return Home, prove nothing: The ragged Dress might have suited twenty others in that populous Road, which, for the most Part, is swarming with Beggars; nor can their simple Belief have any Weight with a Jury. And Mr. *Benner*'s Circumstance of the Tanner's Dog is far from speaking it in her Favour; for when her very good Friend Mr. *Robert Scarret* put her in Mind of the Tanner's House §, the Night she is said to have come Home; it is astonishing she should not have recollected so remarkable an Occurrence as the Dog that had so grievously frightened her.

By the Assistance only of the two first Rules, in Arithmetic, *Addition*, and *Subtraction*, it is possible to pervert Words to any Meaning that may be most agreeable to the Inclinations of the Auditor. Thus, those very Words, which, were by Doctor *Cox*'s Gentlemen, understood as Acknowledgements of Guilt in the old Gipsy, were considered by others, and those not a few, who were also present at the Trial, Protestations of her Innocence. For Instance, Mr. *Hickman*, by the Addition of those two small Particles *and so* *, has rendered those Words assertory, which, to equally good Judges, appeared to have been meant exclamatory, *I did? I wish I had never seen her*; and Reason enough surely she had to say so. This Method of Expression seems to have been familiar to her, for when she

† *Sessions Paper*, p. 116.

§ *Ibid.* p. 114.

* *Supra* 3.

was first charged with this supposed Robbery, she expressed herself in a similar Manner. *I robbed you, Madam? I never saw your Face before in my Life.*

Nothing but a very hardly strained Construction can possibly infer any Thing like a Confession from the Depositions of either *Mead* or *Surby*§. She saw a Number of Witnesses obstinately determined to take away her Life. Mr. *Lyon's* venerable Personage promised that he would be believed; she had Room to suspect *Virtue Hall* of greater Partiality to her Mistress, with whom she had been some Time acquainted, than to her, who was an entire Stranger; and if there must be a Sacrifice, she therefore expected it would fall to her Share; but that she was no more criminal than *Wells*, that is to say, they neither of them knew any Thing of the Matter.

Nor can more be drawn from the latter of these Gentlemen's additional Testimony, than that the old Woman had so much Charity for her Prosecutrix, as to think she had been ill used *somewhere*: And as to his *Belief* of *Squires* being guilty, it is of no Consequence, seeing we have the Happiness to live in a Country where it is not customary to hang Folks meerly upon Imagination.

If the Affidavits of the other Witnesses on this Head are not more convincing, (and it is scarce to to be doubted, but that the Doctor selected those he thought most weighty) they may be concluded good for nothing: This indeed may be learned from them, that these People were vehement in their Wishes, and therefore indefatigable in their Pains to procure the Death of an old Wretch, who, according to the ordinary Course of Nature, could not have long to live.

* *Supra* p. 31.

With Respect to the Evidence of Mr. Olney*, a Butcher, as well as Farmer and Grazier, there may be Room to suspect, that either he, or the Person who drew up his Deposition, have confidently *subtracted* from the Conversation that passed between him and Mother Wells.—Let himself be asked, whether *her* Answer to *his* Enquiry (how she could be so barbarous to use a poor young Girl in that Manner) was not to this Effect? *It was not me, CANNING SAYS, cut her Stays off, it was the old Gipsy Woman.*—The Omission of these two Words, *Canning says*, makes a great Alteration in the Force of this Testimony, it entirely subverts it: She therein told nothing but the Truth; for she was not accused of this Crime. Further, did not *Wells* immediately afterwards deny to this very *Olney*, her having ever seen, or heard of the Girl, till she was brought down thither by her Friends? He will hardly refuse this to be the true State of the Fact, or if he should, it can be proved even from himself.

There are also some Impediments that greatly withstand the giving a ready Assent to what is advanced by the Founder, and the Breeches-maker. (p. 32.) What Inducement could *Wells* possibly have to make these Men the Confidants of a Confession, that might have been employed very much to prejudice her on her then approaching Trial? Or considering what Difficulties the Prosecutors laboured under, to support a Cause confessedly laden with Improbabilities, whereby every corroborating Piece of Evidence became the more requisite; how happened it, that these Persons were not produced at the *Old Bailey*? Testimonies so positive and material would, in all Likelihood, have prevented the subsequent Enquiry: If they were at that Time known, it is a Negligence incompatible with the rest of their Proceedings: If unknown, these Witnesses were

* *Supra* p. 31.

highly blame-worthy for concealing a Fact, so necessary to the bringing to Justice Criminals accused of so unparalleled an Act of Cruelty.

It is supposed that the Gipsy, on Account of her Age, was not a Subject very likely to ramble so far. (p. 32.) But let it be remembered, she had been accustomed to travelling for as many Years as she had lived; and though it may be granted she could not walk either so nimble, or so far in a Day, as when she was forty Years younger; yet Necessity compelled her to do as well as she was able, as she had no other Means of procuring a Subsistence; and forasmuch as not less than fourteen Days were employed in this Journey, there is no great Improbability in the Matter: But as it is a Fact ready to be proved by the substantial Testimonies of many People of Character and Credit, these Speculations about it are needless: And as for the Suggestion of there being two Gipsy Women so very much alike in their Persons, let this Author's Friends produce another, if they think it will be of any Service to them; we rely upon only this identical one, who was taken at *Enfield*, and tried and condemned for a Crime she could not be guilty of, *February 23, 1753, at the Old Bailey*.

Can it then be admitted that Doctor Cox has performed the Business he professed to undertake*? Has he offered any Evidence convincing, or satisfactory? Has he, or his Fellow-labourers in this iniquitous Service, been able to disengage this monstrously absurd Story from any of the Difficulties, that even in the Beginning opposed its being believed? Or have they, with all their Sophistry, in the least divested it of its original Badges of Wick-
edness and Imposture: The most charitable Construction that can be urged in their Behalf, is to say,

* *Appeal*, p. 48.

they have been misled ; which, though it may be some Excuse for their Conduct, will perhaps be thought a Reproach to their Understanding. The Transactions in *Bow-Street*, and the *Old Bailey*, ought to be considered only as the winding up the Plot ; from thence they formed their Judgment ; had they attended to the earlier Parts of the Drama, they must have been of a different Opinion.

Mr. *Fielding* solemnly declares his firm Persuasion, “ that very *foul* and *unjustifiable Practices* had been used in this whole Affair, *since* the Trial,” (p. 12.) by those who had espoused the Gipsy ; but he does not explain how, or by whom.—— That many such were employed by *Canning’s* Friends is manifest beyond a Contradiction, as well before, and at, as after the Trial : Unwarrantable Practices, that a good Cause could not stand in Need of ; and which alone were sufficient to inspire a Diffidence of this. A Specification of some of them shall put an End to your Impatience, and my Labour.

In Order to this, it may not be improper, for the Sake of Regularity, to trace the History of this Prosecution from its Beginning.— No sooner had *Elizabeth Canning* made her Appearance, after four Weeks Invisibilty, and had told her lamentable Tale, but it was immediately resolved nothing less than a human Sacrifice could expiate the flagitious Assault upon her immaculate Chastity : The Mention of the *Hertfordshire* Road soon furnished the Imagination of her Friends with a suitable Notion of Mother *Wells* ; she was instantly destined, and to bespeak the publick Approbation of their Conduct, a Paragraph is dispatched the very next Day to a daily News-Paper, relating what they then thought necessary to have believed *.

In a few Days after a more circumstantial Account was published, and to give it the greater

* *Appendix*, No. 8.

Weight, the Names of six substantial Tradesmen were affixed to it, who thereby declare their Readiness to attest the Truth of what it contains*; This was industriously dispersed throughout every Part of the Town, under the Pretence of raising Subscriptions to carry on Prosecutions against the supposed Offenders.—The whole, or such Parts of the Story as were best calculated to awaken Compassion, were almost daily repeated, either by Way of News, or in Advertisements†. Nay, they were so vehemently assiduous, as to distribute her printed Cases in the Court, even on the Day of the Trial; while on the other Hand, equally earnest Endeavours were practised to animate a general Resentment against the Abused through the same Channel§. Their Industry was crowned with Success; for such was the Effect it had on the Mob, that they not only prevented some of the Witnesses, who attended on the Behalf of the Prisoners, from going into the Court||, to deliver their Testimonies; but they also grossly maltreated them, and would in all Likelihood have murdered them, had it not been for the Interposition of some Persons possessed of more Reason, and less Inhumanity. This Fact, strange as it appears, you may rely on for Truth; ample Proof of it is ready to be produced.

Were these Practices fair or justifiable? Are they conformable to the Rules of Prudence or Equity? Surely it may, not unreasonably, be esteemed a Species of Bribery, and of the worst Kind; For Bribes applied to the Heart, though they affect not the Hand, may be compared to a slow Poison, the more dangerous because it acts imperceptibly.

Such were the Measures pursued previous to the Trial; and to them may be ascribed their boasted Victory, in the Condemnation of two Prisoners.

* *Appendix*, No. 1. † *Ibid.* No. 9. § *Ibid.* No. 10.
|| *Supra* 20.

Nevertheless, two material Points yet remained to be attempted; the one was, that Subscriptions should not drop too soon: The other, to intercept the old Gipsy's receiving Mercy, in Case any one should be so idly compassionate to endeavour procuring it for her: The News-Papers were still open to them, to which they again have Recourse: The Pretences alledged in Favour of the former, are the Expences they had already been at; (and indeed it was very extraordinary, that a Prosecution, which, according to the common Course, could not have cost more than forty Shillings; should amount to more than as many Pounds) for a Reward for the Girl, and the obtaining further Sacrifices *. To prevent the latter, a Man comes, and says he has been robbed on *Norwood Common*; it immediately affords a good Opportunity for an Invective against the Gipsies †.—The Convict, a poor, ignorant Woman, well stricken with Years and Infirmities, labouring under the Confusion that necessarily must attend the hearing that tremendous Sentence pronounced, which was to deprive her of the short Space of Life she might otherwise have expected; and perhaps encompassed by those who had so diligently been upon the Watch, on purpose to take Hold of any unguarded Expression that might accidentally drop from her, (Doctor Cox's Witnesses I mean) and who might be the same Persons that *pulled her about*, and prevented her speaking §, when she might have recollected herself better; under all these Circumstances, SHE happened to make some trifling Mistakes, (for, when duly considered, they are more) in the several Days of the Month on which she was at particular Places; she is right as to the Days of the Week, and it will be proved she

* *Appendix*, No. 12. † *Ibid.* No. 13. § *Sessions Paper*, p. 116.

really was where she asserted. This furnishes Matter for a malevolent Paragraph*.

But while they were thus securely enjoying the Fruits of their Triumph in great Tranquility, an unexpected Storm hovers over their Heads, by the Arrival of sundry Testimonies, tending to confirm the old Woman's Innocence; and, as Misfortunes seldom come singly, their principal Evidence suddenly changes her Mind, and solemnly retracts all she had before sworn. Somewhat must be done to divert the the impending Blow, that threatened all their past Satisfaction and future Projects with absolute Ruin. All Hands are set to work, the Justice is employed in Writing, Mr. Solicitor to look out for Witnesses, and the more inferior Agents to disperse private Scandal and personal Abuse†. But notwithstanding all their Contrivances to the contrary, the Giply was respited for six Weeks. These Things were transacted under the Administration of Mr. Salt; but whether he voluntarily declined, or was dismissed for Want of Capacity, is uncertain; however, the Conduct of Affairs soon after was put into the Hands of one Mr. John Myles.

This Gentleman had no sooner taken upon himself the Management, than he thought it incumbent on him to exhibit a Specimen of his Qualifications to the Publick; whereby they might judge how equal he was to the arduous Task he had undertaken; and verily, he therein has proved himself a Person thoroughly fit for the dirty Purpose he had engaged in. Deeply read in obsolete Acts of Parliament, and well versed in the Rhetorick of *Billingsgate*, he treats, with the most abusive Scurrility, all who shall dare to contradict him, and boldly threatens even the Judges, if they should not concur with him in Opinion§. He does not go sneakingly to work,

* *Appendix*, No. 13. † *Ibid.* No. 14. § *Ibid.* No. 15.
but

but confidently advertises for Evidence*, till he has mustered them by Hundreds: Nevertheless, if he does not take great Care to discipline his Regiment of Witnesses very well, they may chance to prove meer Bunglers in their Exercise at the *Old Bailey*.

A Prosecution was begun against *Canning* for Perjury; to obviate which, he commences another against the three Countrymen, who had appeared on the late Trial, and having obtained a Warrant from a worthy Alderman, such was his Vigilance, that he would entrust Nobody with the Execution of it but himself; accordingly, with three Assistants well armed, he sets out in two Post Chaises for *Abbotsbury*; being arrived there, two of the Men were immediately apprehended, but the proper Peace-Officer of that Place being unwilling to lose his Neighbours without knowing for what, desired to see his Warrant; this was denied, and he declared himself a *Messenger* belonging to the *King*, and that they were to be examined the next Night before his *Majesty*, and the *Privy Council*. From hence he conveyed his Prisoners to *Dorchester*, where he condescended to produce his Authority, and humanely permitted them to be carried before two Justices of the Peace; but though very sufficient Bail was offered for their Appearance, it was refused, either because of his Obstinacy, or some Irregularity in the drawing the Warrant: One of the Men was indeed discharged, there being a Mistake in his Name; the other, one *Clarke*, was safely conveyed to *London*, where he was closely confined, not in any Place appropriated for the Reception of Criminals, but in Mr. *Myles's* own House, from *Saturday Night* till *Tuesday Morning*, not being permitted the Use of Pen or Paper to write to a Friend. It may perhaps be asked, what

* Appendix, No. 16.

Motive could they have for these irregular Practices? The Answer is plain, they were in Hopes of finding another *Virtue Hall*: They had been tampering with him on the Road, by endeavouring to persuade him to say the Gipsy, who had been convicted, was *not the same Woman* he knew at *Abbotsbury*, with Assurances, that if he would comply, *nothing should hurt him*; for that there were *two Sisters** so much alike they could not be distinguished from each other. And during his Abode in *Birchin-Lane*, he was obliged to submit to be visited by several of the Girl's Adherents, continually perplexing him with ensnaring Questions, and sometimes treating him with Ill-manners. Another Advantage might be hoped from this Prosecution, that they should thereby prevent the Testimonies of three Persons so dangerous to their Cause, and perhaps intimidate others from intermeddling in it. However, is it not a melancholy Reflection to think, it should be in the Power of any little Attorney, thus arbitrarily to take away the Liberty of the *British Subject*? This Affair is before a Court, where it is not to be doubted but it will be duly enquired into, and punished as it deserves.

It was also possible the old Gipsy might yet have a Pardon; the Prevention of which seems to have been all along laid down as a first and favourite Principle: Therefore, to oppose this as effectually as lay in their Power, they again resort to their before experienced Method of throwing out inflammatory Advertisements.—To this Purpose it is said, that one *James Lee* was cruelly used, only on Account of his belonging to one of those Witnesses that had appeared against the Gipsy at the *Old Bailey*, which having been represented to Mr. *Myles*, (though not till a full Month after the pretended Offence) he in-

* *Supra* p. 32.

stantly issues his Proclamation for the apprehending the supposed Offenders*.—Soon after, we are told, the whole Neighbourhood of *Enfield* was threatened with a general Conflagration, merely for the Sake of the same *Mary Squires*†. Affidavits of this last Fact were to be seen in the Hands of Mr. *Myles*§; but by whom were they to be seen? By none but *true Believers*; they were judged too sacred to be exposed to vulgar Eyes.

Tales like these surely were never before obtruded upon the World; such Compositions of Fraud and Folly as cannot be paralleled by any Thing, but the original, ill-concerted Story they are intended to support: Yet to these, absurd as they are, a religious Obedience was expected; Reason was to be fettered by Affidavits, and Judgment was to be stifled by animating the Passions.—To these it may be added, that never did any Subject produce equal Torrents of Scandal and Scurrility; without Respect to Character, or Reverence to Dignity, not to be convinced, was sufficient to be abused: Such have been the Measures these People have hitherto pursued: Are they not illicit, unjust, and arbitrary?

But to conclude, you have now, Sir, before you, the Substance of all that I have either read, or heard of, relative to this obscure Transaction: Have I not Reason for my Infidelity? I am a perfect Stranger to all the Parties, having never so much as seen either *Canning*, or *Squires*, consequently I ought not to be suspected of any Partiality. The above Reflections are not meant to prejudice either, they are only what unavoidably occurred to me from the very Nature of the Case. If they give you any Satisfaction, or make you forget the Gout for half an Hour, it will be an ample Recompence, and give the highest Pleasure to, Sir,

Your most obliged humble Servant,

* Appendix, No. 17.

† Ibid. No. 18.

§ Ibid. No. 19.



APPENDIX.

No. 1.

The CASE of *Elizabeth Canning*.

ELIZABETH CANNING, Servant to Mr. Lyon in Aldermanbury, had Leave given her to go and see her Uncle and Aunt on the first Day of *January* last. As she was returning Home in the Evening of the same Day, she was seized by two lusty Fellows in *Moorfields*, directly at the Gates of *Bethlehem Hospital*: After they had rifled her Pockets, they took her into the middle Walk of the said Fields, where they stripped her of her Gown, Apron, Hat, &c. She crying out Murder! one of the Fellows struck her on the right Temple, which immediately deprived her of her Senses. When she recovered, she found herself in an open Road between the two Robbers, who soon convey'd her to a House, in which she saw an old Woman and two young ones. The old Woman told her, if she would do as they did, (which was whoring and thieving) she should want for nothing: But, upon her Refusal, the old Woman cut off her Stays, and then forced her up a Pair of Stairs, with horrid Imprecations, and threatening to cut her Throat if she made the least Noise. She was then confined in a dark Room, and had only a small Quantity of Bread and Water to support her, and a little Hay to lie on. On the 29th of *January* she escaped, by making a Hole in the Boards of the Window, about four o'Clock in the Afternoon, and came to her Mother's House, about ten at Night, in a most miserable Condition.

When this unhappy young Woman was asked where she had been, she could give no other Account than that she had been confined in a House on the Hertfordshire Road, which she knew, by seeing the Coachman who drove her Mistress into that County pass by, through a Hole of the Window.

The House of that notorious Woman, well known by the Name of *Mother Wells*, between *Enfield-Wash* and *Waltham-Cross*, was immediately suspected; and from many Circumstances, appears to be the dismal Prison of this unhappy Sufferer, whose melancholy Situation, since her miraculous Escape, is worthy the Compassion and charitable Contributions of all publick-spirited People, and every one who has any Regard for the Safety of their own Children and Relations, who are equally liable to the same inhuman and cruel Usage, as the before-mentioned young Person; who, since her Escape from the House of that Monster of a Woman, has been in a most deplorable Condition; the whole Course of Nature having, as it were, been put out of its usual Action; she has, through her uncommon and cruel Usage, been deprived of the natural Effects of Food, nothing having passed through her, since being first hurried away in the Manner before-mentioned, but by the Art and indefatigable Pains of the Physician and Apothecary who attended her, 'till the 7th of February, when she had an urinary Evacuation. All these Circumstances being duly considered, it is not doubted but a Subscription, or Contribution, will soon be raised, to enable the Persons who have undertaken to detect this notorious Gang, to prosecute their good Intention with the utmost Vigour, as such a Nest of Villains is of the greatest Danger to the Safety of all his Majesty's good Subjects.

The Truth of the above mentioned Facts, we whose Names are under written, (Inhabitants in and about *Aldermanbury Postern*, who have known the above *Elizabeth Canning* from her Birth, to have always been a very sober, honest and industrious Girl are ready to attest.

Francis Roberts,
Thomas Miles,
John Marshall,
Robert Gerrard,
Jasper Brydon,
Thomas King.

Cases may be had gratis, and Donations are taken in at the *Royal-Exchange Coffee-House* in *Threadneedle-Street*, at *Lloyd's Coffee-House* in *Lombard-Street*; at *St. Dunstan's Coffee-House* in *Fleet-Street*; at *Mr. Say's*, Printer, in *Newgate-Street*; and at *Mr. Francis Roberts's* in *Aldermanbury*, who is appointed Treasurer for carrying on the Prosecutions.

No. 2.

*To all Constables, and other His Majesty's
Officers of the Peace, whom these may
Concern.*

London, } THESE are, in His Majesty's Name, to com-
to wit. } mand you, and every of you, upon Sight hereof,
to take and bring before me, or some other of His
Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said City and Liberties,
the Body of a Person *that goes by the Name of Mother Wells, and
lives at Endfield Wash, in the County of Middlesex.* of whom you
shall have Notice, to answer to all such Matters and Things, as
on His Majesty's Behalf shall be objected against her by *Eliza-
beth Canning*, for violently assaulting her, and stripping her of
a Pair of Stays, Value 20 s. and upwards, her Property, after-
wards forcibly detaining her in a Room in her House, and
there keeping her with *Bread and Water*, for upwards of three
Weeks, from whence she made her Escape, as Oath hath
been made thereof before me. Hereof fail not at your Peril.
Given under my Hand and Seal, this thirty-first Day *January*,
in the Year of our Lord 1753.

THO. CHITTY.

*To all Constables, Headboroughs, and other
His Majesty's Officers of the Peace for the
said County, whom these may Concern.*

Middlesex, } LET the within Warrant be executed in this
to wit. } County, if the within described Person, who
goes by the Name of *Mother Wells*, be found therein. Given
under my Hand and Seal, this 31st Day of *January*, 1753.

WILLIAM WITHERS.

February 1, 1753.

Committed *Mary Squires* to New-Prison, and *Susanna Wells*
to Bridewell.

MERRY TYSHMAKER.

Middle-

Middlesex } *The INFORMATION of Elizabeth Canning of Aldermanbury Postern, London, Spinster, taken upon Oath, this 7th Day of February, in the Year of our Lord 1753, before Henry Fielding, Esq; one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex.*

THIS Informant, upon her Oath, saith, That on *Monday*, the First Day of *January* last past, she, this Informant, went to see her Uncle and Aunt, who live at *Saltpetre Bank*, near *Rosemary-Lane*, in the County of *Middlesex*, and continued with them until the Evening; and saith, That upon her Return Home, about Half an Hour after Nine, being opposite *Bethlehem-gate* in *Moorfields*, she, this Informant, was seized by two Men (whose Names are unknown to her, this Informant) who both had *brown Bob-wigs on, and drab-coloured Great-coats*; one of whom held her, this Informant, whilst the other, feloniously and violently, took from her one Shaving Hat, one Stuff Gown, and one Linen Apron, which she had on; and also, Half a Guinea in Gold, and Three Shillings in Silver; and then he that held her threatened to do for this Informant. And this Informant saith, That, immediately after, they, the same two Men, violently took hold of her, and dragged her up into the Gravel-walk that leads down to the said Gate, and about the Middle thereof, he, the said Man, that first held her, gave her, with his Fist, a very violent Blow upon the right Temple, which threw her into a Fit, and deprived her of her Senses, (which Fits, she, this Informant, saith she is accustomed and subject to, upon being frightened, and that they often continue for six or seven Hours.) And this Informant saith, That when she came to herself, she perceived that she was carrying along by the same two Men, in a large Road-way: And saith, That in a little Time after, she was so recovered she was able to walk alone; however they continued to pull her along, which still so intimidated and frightened her, that she durst not call out for Assistance, or speak to them. And this Informant saith, That in about half an Hour after she had so recovered herself, they, the said two Men, carried her, this Informant, into a House, (which, as she, this Informant, heard from some of them, was about Four o'Clock in the Morning, and which House, as she, this Informant, hath since heard and believes, is situate at *Enfield-ways*, in the County of *Middlesex*, and is repu-

reputed to be a very bad and disorderly Bawdy-house, and occupied by one — *Well*, Widow) and there this Informant saw, in the Kitchen, an old Gipsy Woman, and two young Women, whose Names were unknown to this Informant; but the Name of one of them this Informant hath since heard, and believes is *Vertue Hall*; and saith, That the said old Gipsy Woman took hold of this Informant's Hand, and promised to give her fine Cloaths if she would go their Way; (meaning, as this Informant understood, to become a Prostitute) which this Informant refusing to do, she, the said old Gipsy Woman, took a Knife out of a Drawer, and cut the Lace of the Stays of her, this Informant, and took the said Stays away from her; and one of the said Men took off her Cap, and then the said two Men went away with it, and she, this Informant, hath never since seen any of her Things. And this Informant saith, That soon after they were gone, (which she, this Informant, believes was about Five in the Morning) she, the said old Gipsy Woman, forced her, this Informant, up an old Pair of Stairs, and pushed her into a back Room like a Hay-loft, without any Furniture whatsoever in the same, and there locked her, this Informant, up, threatening her, this Informant, that if she made the least Noise or Disturbance, she, the said old Gipsy Woman, would cut her Throat, and then she went away. And this Informant saith, That when it grew light, upon her looking round to see in what a dismal Place she was, she, this Informant, discovered a large Black Jug, with the Neck much broken, wherein was some Water; and upon the Floor several Pieces of Bread, near in Quantity to a Quartern Loaf, and a small Parcel of Hay: And saith, That she continued in this Room, or Place, from the said *Tuesday* Morning, the second Day of *January*, until about Half-an-hour after Four of the Clock in the Afternoon of *Monday* the twenty-ninth Day of the same Month of *January*, without having, or receiving, any other Sustenance, or Provision, than the said Bread and Water (except a small Minced-pye, which she, this Informant, had in her Pocket) or any Thing to lie on, other than the said Hay; and without any Person, or Persons, coming to her, altho' she often heard the Name of Mrs. and Mother *Wells* called upon, whom she understood was the Mistress of the House. And this Informant saith, That on *Friday*, the twenty-sixth Day of *January* last past, she, this Informant, had consumed all the aforesaid Bread and Water, and continued without having any Thing to eat, or drink, until the *Monday* following, when she, this Informant, being almost famished with Hunger, and starved with Cold, and almost naked during the whole Time of her Confinement, about Half-an-hour after Four in the Afternoon of the said twenty-ninth Day of *January*, broke out at a Window of the said Room, or Place, and got
to

to her Friends in *London*, about a Quarter after Ten the same Night, in a most weak, miserable Condition, being very near starved to Death. And this Informant saith, That she ever since hath been, and now is, in a very weak and declining State and Condition of Health, and altho' all possible Care and Assistance is given to her, yet what-ever small Nutriment she, this Informant, is able to take, the same receives no Passage through her, but what is forced by the Apothecary's Assistance and Medicines.

Sworn before me,
this 7th of Feb.
1753.

The Mark of
E C
Elizabeth Canning.

H. FIELDING.

No. 4.

Publick Advertiser, Saturday, Feb. 10, 1753.

ON *Wednesday* last, at the earnest Desire of the Prosecutor, Mr. Justice *Fielding* undertook to examine into the Robbery of the Girl, who, in the Beginning of *January* last, after having been robbed in *Moorfields*, was carried by two Men to a House in *Enfield-Wash*, where she was stript of her Stays, and then confined in a miserable Room near a Month, with no other Sustenance than a Quartern Loaf and a Pitcher of Water. On *Thursday* Evening a Girl who lived in the House, and who was apprehended by a Warrant from the Justice, was brought before him, and was under Examination from Six 'till Twelve at Night; when, after many hard Struggles and stout Denials of the Truth, she, at length, confessed the Whole; by which Means it is not doubted but that all the Actors of that cruel Scene will be brought to the Fate they deserve.

No. 5.

Gazetteer, Saturday, Feb. 10, 1753.

LAST *Thursday* *Vertue Hall*, a Servant to Mrs. *Wells*, who kept a House of ill Fame near *Enfield-Wash*, was taken into Custody by Virtue of a Warrant from Justice *Fielding*, and brought before the said Magistrate, and, after a very strict Examination, she acknowledged that *Elizabeth Canning*, a young Woman, who was Servant to Mr. *Lyon*, a Carpenter in *Aldermanbury*.

manbury, and who had been robbed by two Fellows in *Moorfields* about ten o'Clock in the Evening last *New Year's Day*, was afterwards brought to *Mrs. Wells's* House, and confined there near a Month, and that several Menaces were made use of to introduce her to become a common Prostitute, but that she would not comply with their Request. After so long Confinement, the said *Elizabeth Canning* took an Opportunity of pulling down some Boards, which were nailed before the Windows, and by that Means she made her Escape, and came in a very miserable naked Condition, and almost deprived of her Senses, to her Mother, a poor Widow, who lives in *Aldermanbury Postern*. Soon afterwards (proper Care being taken of her) she was capable of giving a particular Account of the several Hardships she had undergone during her miserable Confinement, whereupon her Master, and several of the Neighbours, who had known her from her Infancy, (by her Direction) went to the said House, and apprehended *Mrs. Wells* and several others, whom they found in the House, and carried them before Justice *Tyssemaker* of *Edmonton*, who committed *Mrs. Wells*, and another old Woman (called a Gipsy) to Prison. The said *Virtue Hall* was committed to the *Gatehouse* by Justice *Fielding*, but she is admitted to be an Evidence in the Affair, and, among others, she has impeached a Son of the Gipsy, as one of the Persons that robb'd and cruelly treated the said *Elizabeth Canning*.

No. 6.

Middlesex. { *The INFORMATION of Virtue Hall, late of the Parish of Enfield, in the County of Middlesex, Spinster, taken upon Oath this 13th Day of February 1753, before me, Henry Fielding, Esq; one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex.*

THIS Informant upon her Oath saith, That on *Tuesday* the second Day of *January* last past, about four of the Clock in the Morning, a young Woman, whose Name this Informant hath since heard is *Elizabeth Canning*, was brought (without any Gown, Hat, or Apron on) to the House of one *Susannah Wells*, of *Enfield Wash*, in the County aforesaid, Widow, by two Men, the Name of one of whom is *John Squires*, the reputed Son of one *Mary Squires*, an old Gipsy Woman, who then, and some little time before, had lodged at the House of the said *Susannah Wells*, but the Name of the other of the

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said two Men this Informant knows not, she this Informant never having seen him before or since to the best of her Knowledge. And this Informant saith, That when she the said *Elizabeth Canning* was brought into the Kitchen of the said *Wells's* House, there were present the said *Mary Squires*, *John Squires*, the Man unknown, *Katharine Squires*, the reputed Daughter of the said *Mary Squires*, and this Informant; and this Informant does not recollect that any one else was in the said Kitchen at that Time: And saith, That immediately upon her the said *Elizabeth Canning's* being brought in, the said *John Squires* said, 'Here Mother, take this Girl,' or used Words to that Effect; and she the said *Mary Squires* asked him where they had brought her from? and *John* said from *Moorfields*, and told his said Mother that they had taken her Gown, Apron, Hat, and half a Guinea from her, to the best of this Informant's Recollection and Belief: Whereupon she the said *Mary Squires* took hold of the said *Elizabeth Canning's* Hand, and asked her if she would go their Way, or Words to that Effect; and upon the said *Elizabeth Canning's* answering no, she the said *Mary Squires* took a Knife out of the Drawer of the Dresser in the Kitchen, and therewith cut the Lace of the said *Elizabeth Canning's* Stays, and took the said Stays away from her, and hung them on the Back of a Chair, and the said Man unknown took the Cap off the said *Elizabeth Canning's* Head, and then he, with the said *John Squires*, went out of Doors with it. And this Informant saith, That quickly after they were gone, she the said *Mary Squires* pushed the said *Elizabeth Canning* along the Kitchen, towards and up a Pair of Stairs leading into a large Back-room like a Loft, called the Workshop, where there was some Hay; and whilst she the said *Mary Squires* was so pushing her the said *Elizabeth Canning* towards the Stairs, she the said *Susannah Wells* came into the Kitchen, and asked the said *Mary Squires* what she was going to push the Girl up Stairs for, or Words to that Effect, and to the best of this Informant's Recollection and Belief the said *Mary Squires* answered, 'What is that to you? You have no Business with it.' Whereupon the said *Susannah Wells* directly went out of the Kitchen into an opposite Room, called the Par-
lour, from whence she came, as this Informant believes. And this Informant saith, That the said *Mary Squires* forced the said *Elizabeth Canning* up Stairs into the said Workshop, and buttoned the Door at the Bottom of the Stairs in the Kitchen upon her, and confined her there. And this Informant saith, That about two Hours after a Quantity of Water, in an old broken mouthed large black Jug, was carried up the said Stairs, and put down upon the Floor of the said Workshop at the Top of the Stairs, to the best of this Informant's Recollection and Belief. And this Informant saith, That soon after the said *Elizabeth Canning*
was

was so put into the said Workshop, and the said *Susannah Wells* was returned into the Parlour, the said *John Squires* returned again into the Kitchen, and took the Stays from off the Chair, and went away with the same, and in about an Hour's time returned, and went into the Parlour with the said *Susannah Wells*. He the said *John Squires* came again into the Kitchen, and then this Informant went into the Parlour to the said *Susannah Wells*, and the said *Susannah Wells* there said to this Informant *Virtue*, the Gipsy-Man (meaning the said *John Squires*) has been telling me that his Mother had cut the Girl's (meaning the said *Elizabeth Canning*'s) Stays off her Back, and that he has got them; and further said, 'I desire you will not make a Clack of it, for fear it should be blown,' or used Words to that or the like Effect. And this Informant saith, That from the Time of the said *Elizabeth Canning*'s being so confined in the Morning of the said second Day of *January*, in manner as aforesaid, she the said *Elizabeth Canning* was not missed, or discovered to have escaped out of the said Workshop until *Wednesday* the 31st Day of the same Month of *January*, as she this Informant verily believes; for that, to the best of this Informant's Recollection and Belief, she was the Person that first missed the said *Elizabeth Canning* thereout. And this Informant saith, That the said *Susannah Wells* harboured and continued the said *Mary Squires* in her aforesaid House, from the Time of the said *Mary Squires*'s robbing the said *Elizabeth Canning* of her Stays, until *Thursday* the first Day of *February* last past, when the said *Susannah Wells*, *Sarah* her Daughter, *Mary Squires*, *John Squires*, his two Sisters *Katharine* and *Mary Squires*, *Fortune Natus*, and *Sarah* his Wife, and this Informant, were apprehended on account thereof, and carried before Justice *Tysemaker*. And this Informant saith, That *Fortune Natus* and *Sarah* his Wife, to the best of this Informant's Recollection and Belief, have lodged in the House of the said *Susannah Wells* about eleven Weeks next before *Monday* the fifth Day of *February* Instant, and layed on a Bed of Hay spread in the Kitchen at Night, which was in the Day-time pushed up in a Corner thereof, and continued lying there, when at Home, until *Thursday* the said first Day of *February*, when before the said Mr. *Tysemaker*, all, except the said *Susannah Wells* and *Mary Squires*, were discharged, and then that Evening the said *Fortune Natus* and *Sarah* his Wife laid up in the said Workshop where the said *Elizabeth Canning* had been confined; so that, as this Informant understood, it might be pretended that they had lain in the said Workshop for all the Time they had lodged in the said *Susannah Wells*'s House. And saith, That on the Day on which it was discovered that the said *Elizabeth Canning* had made her Escape out of the said Workshop, by breaking down some Boards slightly affixed

a-cross the Window-place, the said *Sarah*, Daughter of the said *Susannah Wells*, nailed up the said Window-place again with Boards, so that the said Window-place might not appear to have been broke open. And lastly, this Informant saith, That she, this Informant, hath lived with the said *Susannah Wells* about a Quarter of a Year last past, and well knows that the said *Susannah Wells*, during that Time, hath kept a very notorious ill governed and disorderly House, and has had the Character of doing so for many Years past; and that the said *Susannah Wells* well knew and was privy to the Confinement of the said *Elizabeth Canning*.

Sworn before me,
this 14th of Fe-
bruary 1753.

by
Virtue + Hall.
Mark.

H. FIELDING.

No. 7.

February 15th, 1753.

W H E R E A S on Monday the first Day of January last, about half an Hour after Nine in the Evening, one *Elizabeth Canning*, a young Girl about the Age of Eighteen, whose Mother lives at *Aldermanbury-Postern*, London, was, opposite to *Bethlehem-gate*, in *Moorfields*, robbed of a white Shaving Hat, a Stuff Gown of a purple Colour, shot with yellow, a white Linen Apron and Handkerchief, Half a Guinea in Gold, and three Shillings in Silver, by two tall, strong made Men, each of them having on a light-coloured Drab Great-coat, with large inside Pockets, and brown Bob-wigs; after which, one of the two said Men gave her a violent Blow on the right Temple, and stunned her, and flung her into a Fit, which she by any Fright is much subject to, and about four the next Morning conveyed her to the House of *Susannah Wells*, Widow, at *Enfield-wash*, in the County of *Middlesex*, who has the Character of being a most notorious old Bawd, and for many Years hath lived and kept a House there for the Reception of the worst of People; (the Name of one of the two said Men is *John Squires*, a Gipsy-man, the reputed Son of *Mary Squires*, an old Gipsy-woman, then lodging at the said *Well's* House, but the Name of the other Man is at present unknown;) and there the said *Mary Squires* robbed the Girl of her Stays, and then in a miserable naked Condition, because she would not become a common Prostitute, confined her in an old back Room, or Loft, belonging to the said House, with some Hay therein, for Twenty-eight Days, (without any other Sustainance than about four or five Quarts of Water, and some stale broken Bread, in Quantity about a Quartern Loaf,) and

until

until she ventured to make her Escape thereout, and come Home almost starved and famished to Death, but is likely to recover, great Care having been taken of her.

Whoever will take and apprehend the said two Men, or either of them, so that they or either of them may be brought to Justice, shall have a Reward of Ten Pounds on the Conviction of either of them, or Twenty Pounds on the Conviction of both; to be paid by us whose Names are underwritten, over and above all other Rewards given for the apprehending, taking, and convicting of Highwaymen and Street Robbers.

FRANCIS ROBERTS, of *Aldermanbury*,

And,

EDW. LYON, of *Aldermanbury*, the Girl's Master.

Note, That one of the young Women kept by *Susannah Wells* has made an Information of the whole Affair before Mr. Justice *Fielding*, and is admitted an Evidence, and the said *Susannah Wells* and the old Gipsy-woman are taken and committed to Prison.

And whereas the several Prosecutions that are carrying on against the many Persons concerned in the above Offences will be expensive, every Person inclined to assist in so laudable an Undertaking, as an Encouragement to Virtue, are desired to send their Subscriptions to the aforesaid Mr. FRANCIS ROBERTS.

Donations for carrying on the Prosecutions against the Persons who robbed, and cruelly used *Elizabeth Canning*, are continued to be taken in at the following Places, viz. The *Royal Exchange* Coffee-house, in *Threadneedle-street*; at *Lloyd's* Coffee-house, in *Lombard-street*; at *St. Dunstan's* Coffee-house, in *Fleet-street*; at Mr. *Say's*, Printer, in *Newgate-street*; and at Mr. *Francis Roberts's* in *Aldermanbury-Poftern*, who is appointed Treasurer for carrying on the Prosecutions.

That any Sum, ever so small, would be very acceptable, and be either applied to the carrying on the Prosecution, or given to the poor Girl as a Recompence for her Virtue, and Miseries she has gone through.

No. 8.

London Daily Advertiser, January 31, 1753.

ON Monday Night, the young Woman who was advertized as left in *Houndsditch* on New-Year's-day last, about Nine in the Evening, came Home to her Mother, who lives in *Aldermanbury-Poftern*, and gave the following extraordinary Account of her being forced away and detained.

She had been at *Saltpetre-Bank*, near *Rosemary-lane*, to see her Uncle and Aunt, who came with her as far as *Houndsditch* in her Way Home, where she desired them to return. She went from thence into *Moorfields*, by *Bethlehem-wall*, as the nighest Way Home; there she was met and attacked by two Fellows, who

pulled off her Hat and Gown, cut off her Apron, then gagged her, and threatened her with bitter Imprecations, if she cried out to cut her Throat. They then forcibly carried her to *Enfield*, to a House kept by one *Mother Wells*, near the Wash, by the ten Mile Stone, which Place they reached about Four o'Clock in the Morning. The Fellows left her in that House, and she has not seen them since. The Woman of the House immediately cut off her Stays with her own Hands, and with the horridst Excretions forced her into a Room, where she was kept upon Bread and Water. She broke her Way through a Window almost naked, and in that wretched Condition came Home. She left several unhappy young Women in the House, whose Misfortune she has providentially escaped.

No. 9.

February 10, 1753.

THIS Day at Noon may be had gratis, the Case of *Elizabeth Canning*, at the following Places, *viz.* The *Royal Exchange* Coffee-house, in *Threadneedle-street*; at *Lloyd's* Coffee-house, in *Lombard street*; at *St. Dunstan's* Coffee-house, in *Fleet-street*; at *Mr. Say's*, Printer, in *Newgate-street*; and at *Mr. Francis Roberts's* in *Aldermanbury-Postern*, who is appointed Treasurer for carrying on the Prosecutions.

Feb. 8, 1753. This Day one *Vertue Hall* was taken into Custody, and made a full Confession of the Whole before the Worshipful Justice *Fielding*.

N. B. As the Persons concerned in the carrying on the Prosecution are determined to proceed against all the Parties concerned in this inhuman Act of Barbarity, they hope the Charitable and the Humane will chearfully assist them, by sending in their Donations, so as to enable them not only to prosecute the Persons already in Custody, but likewise to offer a Reward for the apprehending the two Men who robbed the unhappy Girl.

* * *The Quantity of Bread and Water which Elizabeth Canning had to subsist on, from Jan. the 2d. to Jan. the 29th included, was about the Quantity of a Quartern Loaf, in stale and mouldy Crusts, and a Gallon of Water.*

No. 10.

February 16, 1753.

YESTERDAY the notorious *Mother Wells*, and *Mary Squires*, an old Gipsy-woman, were examined before the Worshipful Justice *Fielding*, concerning the Robbery, and uncommon cruel and inhuman Usage of *Elizabeth Canning*, and
were

were both committed to *Newgate*. They stoutly denied the having any Knowledge of that unhappy Girl, notwithstanding the positive and clear Evidence of *Elizabeth Canning* and *Vertue Hall*. There were several Persons of Distinction at the Examination; and a certain Gentleman present took an exact Drawing of the Physiognomy of this infamous Gipsy, with a Copper-plate Print of which we are informed the Publick will be soon obliged. Mother *Wells* expressed herself with all the Art and affected Innocence of those wicked Wretches, who are *deliberately* and *methodically* taught the Methods of evading Justice; and the old Gipsy behaved as a Person *traditionally* and *hereditarily* versed in the antient *Egyptian* Canning, making the most religious Protestations of her Innocence; though she was afterwards heard to say, *Damn the young Bitch!* It is not in the least doubted, but this Affair will be traced to the very Root, and many secret Works of Darknefs brought to Light, greatly to the Honour of those publick-spirited and humane Gentlemen, who have supported the Cause of a poor, injured innocent Girl, and done such singular Service to their Country, by their Endeavours to eradicate a Gang of *desperate* and *cruel* Villains, of the *greatest* Danger to a civilized Nation.

No. II.

February 24.

DONATIONS for carrying on the Prosecutions against the Persons who robbed, and cruelly used *Elizabeth Canning*, are continued to be taken at the following Places, viz. The *Royal Exchange* Coffee-house, in *Tbreadneedle-street*; at *Lloyd's* Coffee-house, in *Lombard-street*; at *St. Dunstan's* Coffee-house, in *Fleet-street*; at *Mr. Say's*, Printer, in *Newgate-street*; and at *Mr. Francis Roberts's* in *Aldermanbury-Postern*, who is appointed Treasurer for carrying on the Prosecutions.

N. B. Part of the Money which has hitherto been received, is designed for the Benefit of the abovementioned *Elizabeth Canning*: And the *Expences* which have unavoidably attended this Affair having been very considerable, and likewise will be attended with still greater, before such a *desperate* Gang can be entirely rooted out, it is hoped that the Conviction of *Squires* and *Wells* will not be a Means of hindering further Donations for the apprehending the other Villains, who, if not detected, may commit more enormous Acts of Violence and Cruelty.

(80)

No. 12.

February 28.

SATURDAY last a poor Man who cries Sticks about the Streets, by the Names of *My little Tartar*, *My little Jemmy*, was knock'd down near the *Leathern Bottle*, on *Norwood Common*, by two *Gipsy Men* and three *Women*; the Men used him in a most cruel Manner, by stamping on his Stomach and Neck, robb'd him of what little Money he had, and because it was no more than three-pence, stamp'd on one of his Eyes, and bruised it in a very dreadful Manner. *This is a further Instance of their Barbarity to our Subjects, and shows the immediate Necessity of rooting these Villains out of their Dens.*

No. 13.

March 2.

TIS very remarkable, that tho' upon the Trial of *Mary Squires*, the *Gipsy*, for the Robbery and unheard of cruel Treatment of *Elizabeth Canning*, on the 2d. of *January*, at *Enfield-Wash*, in the County of *Middlesex*, two Persons from *Abbotsbury* in *Dorsetshire* swore positively that the Prisoner, her Son, and Daughter, were at the old *Ship* at *Abbotsbury*, from the 1st to the 10th of *January*, selling Aprons, Ribbons, Handkerchiefs, and the like, yet, upon her being called up to receive Sentence of Death, she herself acknowledged that Defence to be entirely false, by declaring that she, her Son, and Daughter, lay at one *Gravel's* at *Coombe*, by *Salisbury*, on *Monday*, the 1st of *January*, at *Stockbridge* the 2d, at *Popbam Lane* the 3d, at an Alehouse at the Top of the Hill by *Bagsbot* the 5th, and the *Saturday*, *Sunday*, and *Monday* following, at *Mr. Edwards's* in *Old Brentford*. ——— Such Attempts to screen such Offenders, cannot fail to awake the publick Attention, to bring the Rest of those *Miscreants*, (and all such Persons, who, in Defiance of all Laws, human and divine, shall dare to become Partakers of their Crimes by Perjury, to Justice.)

No.

Publick Advertiser, March 19.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many Puffs on the other Side of the Question, the Friends of *Elizabeth Canning* flatter themselves, her Case will not be attended with that Intricacy as is insinuated; and the World in due Time will be acquainted with a true State of her Case, attested by Persons of undoubted Probity, Fortune, and Reputation; and they will likewise be informed who the King of the Gipsies is.

*Gazetteer, April 3.**Our LAW speaks thus of GIPSIES.*

EGYPTIANS (*Egyptiani*) commonly called Gipsies, are, by our Laws and Statutes, a counterfeit Kind of Rogues, who, disguising themselves in strange Habits, smearing their Faces and Bodies, and framing to themselves a canting unknown Language, wander up and down, under Pretence of telling Fortunes, curing Diseases, and such like, abuse the ignorant common People, by stealing and pilfering every Thing from them that is not too heavy for their Carriage, and which they may go off with undiscovered: There are several Statutes for suppressing those Impostors, viz.

1. Stat. 22d H. 8. cap. 10. sect. 2. Outlandish People, calling themselves *Egyptians*, using no Craft nor Feat of Merchandize, and going from Place to Place, in Companies, deceiving the People, bearing them in Hand that they by Palmestry can tell Fortunes, and committing Felonies and Robberies, shall not be suffered to come within this Realm; and if they do, they shall forfeit to the King all their Goods, and be commanded to avoid the Realm within Fifteen Days, upon Pain of Imprisonment; and it shall be lawful to every Sheriff, Justice of Peace and Escheator, to seize to the Use of the King all such Goods as they shall have, and thereof to make Account in the *Exchequer*.

Sect. 4. If any Justice of Peace, Sheriff, or Escheator, seize the Goods of any such *Egyptian*, every such Justice, &c. shall have to his own Use the Moiety of all such Goods.

Stat. 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 4. sect. 2. If any Person willing to bring into this Realm any such Persons calling themselves, or commonly called *Egyptians*, he shall forfeit 40 l.

Sect. 3. If any of the said Persons called *Egyptians*, which shall be conveyed into this Realm, remain within the same one

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Month.

Month, they shall be deemed Felons, and suffer Death, Loss of Lands and Goods, as in Cases of Felony, and shall lose the Benefit of the Clergy.

Sect. 6. If any Person shall sue for any Passports for *Egyptians* to abide within this Realm contrary to this Act, every Person so suing shall forfeit 40*l.* and every such Licence shall be void.

Stat. 5. *Eliz.* cap. 20. sect. 3. Every Person which shall be seen in any Company of Vagabonds, commonly called, or calling themselves *Egyptians*, or disguising themselves by their Apparel, Speech, or Behaviour, like such Vagabonds, and so shall continue in the same, either at one Time, or at several Times, by the Space of one Month, the same Person shall be a Felon, and shall suffer Death, Loss of Lands and Goods, as in Cases of Felony, and shall lose the Benefit of the Clergy. —

Look to it *Esposers* and *Upholders* of *Gipsies*, *Fortune-tellers*, *Impostors*, *Bawds*, *Whores*, *Thieves*, *Robbers*, *Smugglers*, *Murderers*, and *Plunderers* at Shipwrecks, if you credit those the World will question yours; take Heed how you get too deep, and be but too justly stigmatized with those Appellations. Remember your Honour, Credit, and Reputation are at Stake; if you feed yourselves with Fancies that Might shall overcome Right, depend on it 'twill not be so here; this is a Nation (and happy for it) where there are just, good, and wholesome Laws, let who will arraign them, in no Part of the World besides to be met with, where our *Judges* are not afraid of doing *Justice*, and if they don't, there are *Council* and *Lawyers* who dare tell them of it.

No. 16.

WHEREAS there are various scandalous and malicious Falshoods raised and reported of *Elizabeth Canning* by several Persons, particularly by *Mr. Hill* and his *Associates* (for whom this is done, or to answer what Purpose, it is not easy for Persons, Strangers to the secret Springs of their Hearts, to guess at) thereby imposing on the Publick, and to the great Injury of *Canning*; I do hereby take upon me to declare, that several Persons, for the Sake of Justice only, are daily informing me of several material Circumstances, still corroborating her unhappy Case, and proving her Innocence, in Spite of her Enemies. And as it apprehended there are Numbers of other Persons that have not yet been heard of by *Canning*, or her Friends, who know of Matters material and relative to her Case, the Favour will be greatly acknowledged, if such Persons will give Information thereof to

JOHN MYLES,

Attorney, in *Birchin-lane*.

No. 17.

April 24.

WHEREAS on Tuesday the 20th of last Month, as James Lee, of Turkey-street, Enfield, was returning from London to Enfield, about Seven in the Evening, he was met about the Middle of a Place called Houndsfield, in the Road to Enfield, by a tall lusty Man, who was dressed in a red Rug Great Coat, who came up to the said Lee, and asked him if his Name was John Iniver, who swore against Mother Wells and the Gipsy; upon which he answered no; but the said Man replied, you belong to him, and if you had been Iniver, I would have murdered you; and accordingly he fell upon, and beat the said Lee over his Head and Face, and kick'd him on several Parts of his Body, and otherwise cruelly used him, and his Life endangered; but upon some Persons coming up, made off, with two other Men, who then stood at a little Distance, a-crofs the Fieds towards Edmonton,. In order to bring these Villains to Justice, if any Person or Persons will discover any, or either of the said Offenders, so that he, or they, may be brought to Justice, such Person or Persons shall receive a Reward of Ten Pounds, of

JOHN MYLES,

Attorney, in Birchin lane.

No. 18.

Friday, May 11.

WHEREAS on Sunday, the 22d of April last, in the Evening, several Persons on Horseback, to the Number of seven or eight, stopt near the House of Susannah Wells, at Enfield-Wash; and one of the said Persons publicly declared, that if the Gipsy, Mary Squires, should be hanged, they would burn all the Peoples Houses, Barns, and Corn thereabouts; and on Monday the 23d of April afterwards, about Eight o'Clock in the Morning, a tall, lusty, middle-aged Man, in light coloured Cloaths, his Hat flapped, a black Ribbon round the Crown, instead of a Hat-String, with a small Stick in his Hand, walked before the House of the said Susannah Wells, and in like Manner publicly threatened the Inhabitants with Fire, by Reason of which Threats several of ELIZABETH CANNING's Witnesses, living thereabouts, were greatly terrified, and have been hindered from giving their Testimony on her Behalf: Therefore,

fore, whosoever shall discover both, or either, of the Persons who so threatened Fire, so as he, or they, may be apprehended, and brought to Justice for the same, shall receive a Reward of Ten Guineas for each Person so discovered, on Conviction of that Offence. To be paid by

JOHN MYLES,

Attorney, in Birchin-lane.

No. 19.

Gazetteer, Wednesday, May 16.

N. B. **A**S several Persons have doubted the Truth of this Advertisement, (No. 18.) this Notice is given, that *Affidavits* of the Facts are in my Hands, and may be seen.

FINIS.



The candid Reader is desired to correct the following Mistakes.

Page 3, Line 37, for plentiful read copious. Page 4, Line 11. for those most feeble, read those of the most feeble.

